

English language Grammar

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latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gd. than to the E. Gd. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant¹⁾; 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant²⁾; 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gd., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gd. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gd., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gd., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gd., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gd. •

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gd., W. Gd., S. Gd., and E. Gd.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gd. and E. Gd. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gd. and S. Gd. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gd. and W. Gd., the other the S. Gd. and E. Gd. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

• 1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *áphu* self, for H. *áp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *ághi* before, for H. *äge*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bdlakh* child, for H. *bdlak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *májat*, Pr. *májjanto*, etc.; see S Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Sauraseni Prákrit tongue* and the *Mágadhi Prákrit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prákrit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prákrit; viz. the Prákrit proper, the Saurasení, the Mágadhi and the Paisáchí. The first of these is commonly called the Mahárásht्रí (now Maráthí); the Saurasení (now Braj) and Mágadhi (now Bihári) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paisáchí is ascribed by some later Fr. grammarians¹⁾ to Nepál among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prákrit varieties are coordinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prákrīts, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prákrīts and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prákrit. One includes the Saurasení and the (so-called) Mahárásht्रí. These are said to be the prose and poëtic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Mágadhi. The relation of Paisáchí to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prákrit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmidhara in his *Shadbháshá Chandriká*, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prákrit (or Paisáchi) was the spoken language of the people; that is, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paisáchi. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himálaya, Nepál) and south (Pándya, Dakhan)¹). Again the most striking feature of the Paisáchi is its change of the Aryan *y*, *l* and the sonants into *n*, *l̄* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drávidian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drávidians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryans immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paisáchi speech would naturally die out²); and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drávidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhrámsa* Prákrit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakshmídvara in the Shaḍbháshá Chandriká says: piṣácha-deśás tu vṛddhair uktáḥ, pándya kekaya váhlíka sahya nepála kuntaláḥ, sudesha bhota gándhára haiva kanojanás tathá. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gaudians show any trace of the Paisáchi change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l̄*; nor is any specimen of Paisáchi found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient Brhatkathá of Guṇádhyá is supposed to have been written in a Paisáchi dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32, 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prákrit (i. e., the Mh.-Sr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Śaurasení and Mágadhi, and certainly more ancient than the literary Maháráshṭri¹). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhramṣa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paisáchí. The Apabhramṣa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paisáchí in the mouth of the aborigines²). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhramṣa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paisáchí and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pálí. In order of time, therefore, Ps. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gd.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pálí), Ap. Pr., Gd.³).

1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Sr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *ka-hido*, Mg. *kadhide* or *kahide*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiū*, „said“.

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Ps. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Ps.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Ps., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Ps. is Vararuchi in the 1st cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Ps. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prákrit.

3) Pais. or Pál. or Anc. Ap. *kaihito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gd. *kahio* or *kahyo said*; Ps. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roīdo*, W. Gd. *roio* or *royo wept*; Pál. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Sr. *gamido*, E. Gd. *gail* or *gelā* or W. Gd. *gaio* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhrāmsa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhrāmsa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of „*the Abhīras and other similar people*“¹⁾, i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhīrī (Sindhī, Marwārī), Āvantī (E. Rājpútānī), Gaurjarī (Gujarātī), Bāhlīkā (Panjábī), Saurasenī (W. Hindī), Mágadhi or Práchyā (E. Hindī), Odri (Oríyā), Gaudī (Bangálī), Dákshinātyā or Vaidarbhikā (Maráthī) and Saippalī (Naipálī?)²⁾.

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Saurasenī and Mágadhi Prákritis are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhrāmsas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prákritis. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahárásht्रí Prákrit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhrāmsas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Maháráshtra (or Marátha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhrāmsas tu bhāshā syād abhīrā-dīgirām chayāḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhīrs, or Ahīrs as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good“ (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rājpúts.

2) See the lists of K. I and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

cidentally at the end of the chapter on Sauraseni¹). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Subhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Maráthí vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the Prákrit*. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Márkandeya, Lakshmídbara, Rámatakavágíṣa, etc., that the name Maháráshṭri is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Maháráshṭra country²). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood this meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prákrit of the great kingdom“ (i. e., of the famed country of the Doáb and Rájpútáná, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prákrit. According to this view the term Maháráshṭri is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindí. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called is Western Hindí, and has no one point in common with Maráthí, in which the latter differs from Western Hindí (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a*-base and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

1) After finishing his remarks on the Sr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Múháráshṭri“ (*sesham maháráshṭrivat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the Prákrit*.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prákrit of the Maháráshṭra country is the principal Prákrit“ (*prákṛitam maháráshṭradeśiyam prákṛṣṭabhabhāṣyam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a*-base), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Sr. Pr., as its name indicates (Súrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent the old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Sr. for prose¹⁾.

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhramśas or vernaculars a Mágadhi and a Śauraseni Apabhramṣa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Mágadhi and the Śauraseni-Máháráshtṛī, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhramṣa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial: yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Sr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Márvandeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Mágadhi, Arddhamá-

1) Thus Visvanátha Kavirája in the Sahityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Sr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshinátyá, Utkalí, and Sábarí¹). Mágadhl is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Mai-thilí). Arddhamágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhl and Saurasení (or Máháráshtrí)²; it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhl, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrī or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshinátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár³) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráthí, and thus to this language generally⁴). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oriyá. Sábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshinátyá on the one side and Mágadhl and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindi, Oriyá and Maráthí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gauḍian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhl Prákrit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Sr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kalpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Md. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Sr. (*saurasenyá aduratvād iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata*; 12th pada, fol. 49); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*máháráshtrimisárdhadhámágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhl, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhl) and Western Hindi (= Máháráshtrí-Saurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshinátyá vaidarbhi* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshinátyá is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráthí; e. g., Maráthí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshinátyá Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Māhārāshtrī, Saurasenī, Āvantī, Prāchyā, and Sakkī. The Māhārāshtrī and Saurasenī together represent W. Hindī; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Sr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (or *is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjábí, while Sr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)¹). Āvantī is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rájpútáná. Prāchyā, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswári²). Sakkī is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjáb³). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Sr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindī, Gujarátī, Panjábí and Sindhi. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipálí must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Sr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Sauraseni Prákrit tongue*.

1) Súrasená is the name of the country about Mathura or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Sr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kátyáyana, the author of the Vártikas on Pápini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindú tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king“ Vikramáditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country“ or Māhārāshtrī, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as the standard Prákrit.

2) Prāchyā is explained in the S. D as being equivalent to Gaudi (*práchyá gaudiyá*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangálí. But, on the other hand, Md. makes Prāchyā to be an offshoot of Saurasenī (*práchyásiddhīḥ saurasenyāḥ* 10th páda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandi (see Ls. 33), the Gaudi follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhramśas, both Md. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Práchá from the Gaudi. If, then, the Gaudi is of the Sr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswári, the intermediate dialect between E. Gd. and W. Gd.

3) Sakkī is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. *sacae*, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramáditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gd. and Sr. Pr. with N.-W. Gd. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhramśas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable *a priori* — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being desya (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhramśa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prákrit; i. e., one is the Apabhramśa as the other is the Prákrit¹). But, as in the case of the Pr., so also in the case of the Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Md. this chief Ap. is called Nágárápabhramśa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Sr., the Pr. of the western division (*nágaram tu maháráshtrisaurasenyoh pratishthitam*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareśi dhareśi ityadau tasya svaraseshatvam maháráshtryásrayena kareśi dhareśi ity adau datvam saurasenyásrayena mantavyam* (17th páda, fol. 58. 55); its identity with W. Gd. is shown by the fact, that Md. gives the characteristic W. Gd. possess. pronouns *merā*, *terā*, to the Nág. Ap. (*tvadiye teram, madiye meram* 17th páda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Sr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Sr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gd. and N. Gd. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gd. and E. Gd. in *ā*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly*: according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *āha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gd. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gd. in *ā*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *ā* of *āha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly*: from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gd. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gd., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *ao* = Skr. *akah*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Sr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Šakari, Šabari and, by analogy, Dákshinátyá (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamágadhi (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly*: in Gd. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gd. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gd. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *da* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4, 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Mágadhis *d* and *ɖ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking¹⁾. *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gd. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gd. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gd. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gd. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; दैः *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question²⁾.

1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *ida*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Pandits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ɖ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kade* „done“. Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gd. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gd. together to the old Sr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Sr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ś* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ś, l, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Sr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *tth* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *sch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *sch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *sch* is *śk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ś*, would pronounce *sk* as *śk*, and the palatal *s* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *sch*; finally *sch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are two steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are four steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *śk*, 3) *śk* into *sch*, 4) *sch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *puri passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *śk*, when the Mh.-Sr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb „to be“ was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be“ and the participle *gd* „gone“ and *la* „come“ in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Sr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *sk*. Here *sk* must be, probably, interpreted as *śk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.¹⁾ (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *sk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ś* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old *tadbhava* words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*²⁾. The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Sauraseni tongue* and the *Māgadhi tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gd. from those of the S. and E. Gd. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Sr. area; a) the termination *ā* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a-base* in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Kn.; b) the termination *ā* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *sk* or *śk* (cf. Ls. 408. 428); but it has numerous examples of *st̄*, where H. C. gives *st̄* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *hk̄* with the *jihvāmūliya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *preksh̄* „to see“, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peskadi* (or *peškadi*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peschadi* or *pechchhaī* in T. V. 3, 2. 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kachhe* „near“, „at“, E. H. *kdhi* (Skr. *kakshe*); or B. *mdchhi*, M. *md̄si*, E. H. *mdkhi* (or *mdchhi*) „fly“ (Skr. *makshid*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *dasiñ*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south“ or *ddhin* „right“ (Skr. *dakshināḥ*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gd. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtah*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 877); d) the compound future in *lā* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Sr. future in *ih* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *aīlā* „come“ (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Sr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *nem*, *nūm*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called *Abhíri*), though generally classed with the Sr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or *Āvanti* see Ls. 417. 419¹).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gd. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

¹ Still the general character of the *Āvanti* or E. R. is *Saurasenī*; thus Md. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Sr.“ (*āvanti syān mahā-rāshṭrisaurasenyos tu saṃkārāt, anayoh saṃkāraśād āvanti bhādshā siddhā sydt* 11th páda fol. 47^b); and afterwards he says that *Bāhlīki* is allied to it (*āvantiyām eva vāhlīki ibid. fol. 48^a*); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Sr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Sr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Sr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rájputáná. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *iḥ* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjab and Western Rájputáná), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the development and extension of the Sr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Sr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gd. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)¹⁾. Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gd. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tarya* (or *itarya*), and the E. and S. Gd. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gd. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gd. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gd., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itarya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive“ of which naturally becomes a „middle voice“, afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfrí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages²⁾ has called attention to their many affinities with the Gaudians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gd., the N.-W. Gd. or Sr. and the S.-E. Gd. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*; corresponding to E. and S. Gd. *a*, Mg. Pr. *æ*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 28.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al̄* in E. H.¹⁾; c) the Káfírí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present²⁾; d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *s*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gd. *chh*³⁾; e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ts*, *j* and *dz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lā*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *bate* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfírí were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Sr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Sr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gd. and the E. and S. Gd. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gd. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kṛtal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. **karide*, Skr. *kṛtah*; and strong form Psh. *karalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kailai* = *karild*) = Ap. Mg. **karidae*, Skr. *kṛtakah*. — The other, i. e. the Sr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in a quiescent (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gd.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kar* or *krah* „done“, O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariü*, Mh. Pr. **kario*, Skr. *kṛtah*; strong form Psh. *karai* = Bs. *kará* or Br. *karau* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaü*, Mh. Pr. **kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakah*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gd., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *balde* „he will say“ = M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolaild*.

3) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. „he is“ = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *achhe*.

divisions of the Sr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gđ. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gaudian' poët Chand (end of 12th cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gaudian poëts Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13th cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gaudian poët Bidyápati (middle of 14th cent. A. D.¹) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gđ. writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráthí Tukarám, the Gujarátí Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gđ. languages already existing.

Note. I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. II. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gđ. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a*-base is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghorú ro*, G. *ghodá no* „of a horse“; Br. *ghore kau*, P. *ghore dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *nem*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghorai*, G. *ghodáe*, „by a horse“; Br. *ghore nem*, P. *ghore nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasi*, G. *karase* but Br., *karihai* „he will do“; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is“; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15th cent.

Table of Affinities.

EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatí and others of the Vaishnava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Vál-míki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswári, which is a dialect formed by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúta in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's *histoire de la littérature Hindouie* vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poëts wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardai, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th cent. He is the author of the *Prithiráj Rasau*, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15th cent., the author of the *Ramainis* and *Sabdas*. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhpájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the *Súrságár*, the *Bhaktamálá* and the *Rámchandrika*, etc. They flourished in the 16th cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihári Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the *Satsai*, and Lál Kavi from Bandel-khand, the author of the *Chhatra Prakas*, in the 17th cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's *hist. de la litt. Hind.* They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthís) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it“ or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they wore in Sanskrit; e. g., E.H. *bhrātā* „brother“, *rājā* „king“. But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gd. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamī* „forgiveness“, for Skr. *kshamā*; E. H. *āgyā* „command“, for Skr. *ājñā*; E. H. *bisnu* „Vishnu“, for Skr. *vishnuḥ*; E. H. *kripā* „mercy“, for Skr. *kṛpā*; E. H. *karam* „work“, for Skr. *karma*; E. H. *putar* „son“, for Skr. *putrah*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it“ or *Prákritic*¹). It denotes those Gd. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gd. from the Prákrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of tadbhavas; thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *sanskṛtabhāvāḥ cha dvividha, siddhyamānasāṃskṛtabhāvāḥ siddhasāṃskṛtabhāvāḥ cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so.“ It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *rātī* and *ratti* „night“ (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *rātrīḥ*. The latter (*ratti*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *rātrīḥ* is evident and follows from the general rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79, 1, 84); but the former (*rātī*) is a *siddhyamāna tadbhava*, because its identity must be established by a special rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gd. I have a distinguished as *semitatsamas* from the proper tadbhavas (as *putar* and *pīt* „son“), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13–17). But our „*semitatsamas*“ or „*late tadbhavas*“ are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas*; for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Sr. Thus compare the following prákritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhái* „brother“ for A. Mg. *bhāie*; E. H. *rāy* „king“ for A. Mg. *kīyá* or *lāi*; E. H. *khet* „field“ for A. Mg. *khetṭam* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dāhīn* „right“ for Pr. *dāhīnam* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dākṣhiṇam*); E. H. *ān* „order“ for Mg. *aññā* (II. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kānh* „krishna“ for A. Mg. *kanhe* (Skr. *krishṇah*); E. H. *kisán* „husbandman“ for A. Mg. *kisáne* (Skr. *kṛṣṇāḥ*); E. H. *kám* „work“ for A. Mg. *kamme*; E. H. *pút* „son“ for A. Mg. *putte*; etc. It should be remembered that the Gds. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Sr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Sr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gd. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rdi* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *kháil* „eaten“, Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *kháida*, but Mh. Pr. *kháio*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaīs* (= *gaī + s* „thou wentest“), for Ap. (Sr.) Pr. *gaīu si* or *gaīdo si* or *gamido si* (Páli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gailēs* or *gailēs* „thou wentest“, for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gaīda si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prákritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town“; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *nayalam* or *naalam*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaraṁ* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *nagalam*.

Native grammarians add the *desya*, as a third division, to the *tatsama* and *tadbhava*¹⁾). The term *desya* means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1^a) *iha prakṛtaśabdāś tridhā, saṃskṛitasamāsa saṃskṛtabhāvā desyāś cheti*; i. e. „there are three kinds of Prákrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born).“

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Pandits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these *desya* words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prákritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when *Paisáchí* and the Ancient *Apañhramṣa* were spoken by the subject aborigines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭhēṭh* or *gámrári* and the *kharí* or *nágari bháshá*. *Ṭhēṭh* means *genuine* or *pure*, and *gámrári* means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gáñ* = *gráma*, "village"); again *kharí* means *standard* and *nágari* *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar*, "town"). The relation of these two *bháshás* is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the *ṭhēṭh* *bháshá* the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bárai* or *bárai*, but in the *kharí* *bháshá* *báṭai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdú words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. II. appended to this grammar, being written by a Pandit, are rather in the *kharí* than in the *ṭhēṭh* *bháshá*.

ALPHABET.

FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithi* (कैथी or काइथी) alphabet. Its name is derived from Káyath (Skr. कायस्त्), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágari, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is omitted by the *Kaithi* in all letters alike¹). It will be further noticed, that in *Kaithi* the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágari letters: 1) *ṇ* (properly = *n*) for the nasals ण *n*, झ *ñ*, पा *n*, ञ *n*; 2) *়* (a combination of *s* and *়*) for the sibilants স *s*, ষ *়*, ষ *sh*; 3) *়* for the labials ব *b* and ব *v*; 4) *়* (properly = *j*) for the palatals জ *j* and জ *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels *Kaithi* has only four fundamental signs: ~ *a*, ৰ *i*, ৰ *u*, ৰ *e*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágari, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *i* and *ü* are rarely distinguished from *í* and *û* or the medial *ú* from *ü*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágari, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oriyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráthá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oriyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágari or Devanágari and the Mahájaní or Koṭhívál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágari (divine-city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a calligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájaní (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the short-hand writing of the merchants and bankers, their Koṭhívál or office-writing; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágari, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindi and Maráthí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithi; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

1.. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ।; ॥, ॥; ॥, ॥; ॥, ॥; ॥, ॥; ॥, ॥; ॥, ॥. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short ॥, ॥, ॥, ॥, ॥ are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short ॥, ॥, ॥, ॥, ॥ I shall adopt the Gurmukhi or Bangali forms of the ordinary Nágarí signs, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form (‘ and ‘) instead of a slightly curved one (‘ and ‘). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot (·) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke (!) is placed after it to denote the long ॥; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

Initial: — ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
Noninit.: — । ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

Note: The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short ॥ has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *viráma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क k, but क् k. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क् k, क k, का kा, कि kि, को kो, कु kु, कू kू, के kे, के kे, को kो, को kो, के kो, के kो, को kो, को kो.

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable*, *centre*. It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as ē is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and ð like the Hebrew *Khateph Qamez*.

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the quiescent ā (see § 24), as घर्- *ghar'* house, for घर् *ghar*; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर्-वा *ghar'vá* house; घोड़-वा *ghoṛ'vá* horse; कर्-तो॑ *kar'tō* if I did; पढ़-लो॑ *parh'lō* I read, etc. A compound consisting of two poly-syllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short ē, ð, aī, aū occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया *bēṭiyá* daughter; परोसिया *parōsiyá* neighbouring; लोट्वा *lōṭ'vá* vessel; बोलावत् *bōlāvat* calling; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के kē and की kaī as घर के *ghar kē* of the house (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in हू (see § 433), as जेहू कर् *jēh kar* of which (but जे कर् *jé kar*); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् ēs, ऐन् ðn and ऐ॑ aī (see §§ 504. 506); as कर्-तेस् *kar'tēs* (if) thou didst; पढ़-लेस् *parh'lēs* he read; रह-लेस् *rah'lēs* thou remainedst; कर्-तेन् *kar'tēn* (if) they did; पढ़-लेन् *parh'lēn* they read; कर्-तै॑ *kar'tāi* (if) they did; पढ़-लै॑ *parh'lāi* they read; 5) in the suffix ए॑ ē of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के *kahē kē* having said; 6) in some frequently used words, as और् *aīr* or औं *aū* and (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) ē and ð must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in घोटा (or घिटा for निदा Vr. 1, 12), घोटुं (for नीडं Vr. 1, 19), सेखं (for खैखं Vr. 1, 35), सेज्जा (for प्रस्ता Vr. 1, 5), सेवा, ऐक्के (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोक्षा (for मुक्षा Vr. 1, 20), गोबुद्धां (for गोबनं Vr. 1, 41), तेलोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See J.S. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4, 68), कादिस्वैदोतोरु उचारुलाघवम् i. e., after consonants श and शः are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels शः, श, ाशः, ाश and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short शः, e. g., in एक् शक् one, and short श in गोम् गौम् wheat, बोल् बौल he speaks, etc. Oriyā, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute ाश for श in writing; thus B. गम्, अल्; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed शः and श; S. has still preserved the शः in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces शः to ि, and always श to ि (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute ि and ि for शः and श (as to शः and श in P. see Ld. 4); even the E.-Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 380). The Psh. has both शः and श (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like श, e. g., ब्रह्म बौरो great; but it must not be confounded with the real श which is a shortening of अ or श, while this श is a modification of अ ाशः; as shown by O., which pronounces ाशः; e. g., बार् बौरा. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel ाशः at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct य् or त् before the final अ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as योग्या yogya worthy, तत्त्वं tatva substance.

Note: The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. अिन्ती binti for अिन-ती bin'ti petition, H. H. दुल्हा dulhā for दुल-हा dul'hā bridegroom, M. राम्या rámyá for राम-या rám'yá Rám, or घोड्या ghödyá for घोड-या ghoḍ'yá of a horse (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ए॒ रि॑, ए॒ रि॑, ए॒ लि॑, ए॒ लि॑ of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr., they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gd. In Hindí certainly, whether E. or W., they are never *pronounced*. In H. H. it is customary to *write* ए॒ रि॑ in tats. words; but in *speaking* the syllable ए॒ रि॑ or even इ॒ रि॑ is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत् ambrosia is always pronounced *amrit* (अम्रित्) or *amirt* (अमित्); Skr. कृपा favor *kripá* (क्रिपा) or *kirpá* (किरपा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindí phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization.* In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compensation*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (~), called the *arḍḍhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रहन्तो॑ *rahñtō*, लेई॑ *leī*, कोई॑ *koi*, होई॑ *hōī*, नीद॑ *níd*, or चललाँ॑ *chalalā*, कुआर॑ *kuār*, कुआरी॑ *kuāri*, जाई॑ *jāy*, जाई॑ *jāv*.

9. *Derivation and affinities.* The *anunásika* generally (except occasionally before व् and स्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a, consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gds.; see § 23.

2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *murdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals	Semivowels		Sibilants surd
	surd or hard	sonant or soft	sonant	unasp.	unasp.	unaspire	sonant or soft	unasp.
	unasp.	aspire.	unasp.	aspire.	unasp.	unaspire	aspire.	unasp.
guttural	क् k	ख् kh	ग् g	় gh	় n	—	হ্ h	—
palatal	চ্ ch	় chh	জ্ j	় jh	় n	য্ y	—	—
cerebral	ত্ t	় th	ড্ d	় dh	় n	ৰৰ	় rh	—
dental	ত্ t	় th	ড্ d	় dh	় n	ৰ or ল্ l	় rh or ল্ lh	স্ s
labial	প্ p	় ph	ব্ b	় bh	় m	ৱ্ v	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz*¹). This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhi²). In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts + h*, *dz*, *dz + h*³). It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the 'semidentals' occur in Psh. and Kf.⁴). In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian“ (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Ba. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 398. XXI, 20. 23.

ग् is almost universally pronounced and written ग् or (generally before palatal vowels) गृ; e. g., M. ग्रीष्म bear, E. H. ग्रीहः; M. गुंडी knife, E. H. गुरी; M. माघो fly, E. H. माघो (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both ग् and गृ are pronounced (but not usually written) ग्; e. g., Mw. सङ्क्ली wheel for E. H. चक्री; Mw. सासू buttermilk for E. H. शाशू (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally गृ as ग्; e. g., G. प्लो who for S. एता (see § 438, 6); B. काणे or काङे near (Bs. I, 218); S. सौ for Mth. एते we are, P. सन् for N. एन् they are.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोच्चार्याः, which is explained by Bhāmaha चवर्गां यथा स्पष्टस् तथोच्चार्यो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be distinct“. My MS. of Md. (12th páda, fol. 48^b) reads चययोरुपत्तः स्यात् । यकारामः । स्विरे । याश्च ॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चपयोरु उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „ya is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this ya is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymáda* (?)”¹). My MS. is a Nágari copy of one in Oriyá characters, in which य् and यृ and again न् and नृ would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुच्छार्याः, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md. rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with ya are slightly pronounced“; or, perhaps, rather: „ya in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron.“ This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49^a); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drávidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymáda* mother (*mátá*) or illusion *máyá*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as ड्रेक्टर् *director*, सार्टिफिकेट *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjudged non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ज and ण have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ल which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals¹⁾. The next was the semivowel य which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral झ. Cp. vedic मृङ् *gracious* with Skr. मृङ् *gentle*; also R. मृङ् or मृङ् with मृङ्; नङ् with नृङ्; नङ् with नृङ्, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prákrits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drávidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) न¹⁾ is cerebralized to न्, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral न a fully cerebral न् has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drávidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal न् n, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया aṅgiyā bodice. The others may occur by themselves. The अ न् and प् न्, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theft*) forms of E. H.; thus आहीं náhī no, अगिआ aginā fire, पारसिंध् narsingh manlion, नारैया nárain Náráyan, पाणी páṇi water. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न् n, as नाहीं náhī, नरसिंध् narsingh, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original प् न्, as कारन् káran cause for Skr. कारणा karanya. Hence the Kaithí alphabet has no special signs for अ न् and प् न्; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न् n. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan r and n are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pank* *mire*, अंत् *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvára*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. *anusvára* which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals ं and अ (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (अ), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य् *ny* and प्य् *ny* change to अन् *nn*. Agreeably with this, अ occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *theth bháshás*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अग्निआ *fire* for अग्निनिया, Mg. Pr. अग्निपाइए (see Ls. 244 अग्निपाइ), Skr. अग्निकः; आही¹ *not* for न्याही² = ने + आही² (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. आगिजा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) आगिना (Skr. आज्ञा). So also in N. याजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. यें) for Ap. Pr. याणि or याणे, Skr. स्थाने; लिजा¹ *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिन्ना)¹). S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पञ्च *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुञ्च, Skr. पुप्त्वं; S. यञ्च *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. यठञ्च, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वञ्च *goes*, Mg. Pr. वठञ्च (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मञ्च *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मठञ्च, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhámágadhi which has न्न् *nn*²) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्द्रं; E. H. अनै *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्द्र; E. H. मानै *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मन्द्र. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal ं (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as अञ्ज

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic अ् after इ; as उराआ *feared* for उराइशा (उराया); यिआ *was* for यिशा; हपिआ *money* for हपिशा; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as हपिआ *money*, अगिआ *order*, however, I have heard also in *theth Panjabí*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अ न्न् for प्य् *ny* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न्न् *nn* for न्य् *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

anu body, मञ्जु mananu ask (E. H. मानन्); and apparently O. त्पो (see Sn. 18), as केनु *kenu who*, जेनु *jenu which*. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps झ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards प् and न्, every प् changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every *medial* न् and optionally every *initial* न् become प् in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, प् is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in thet̥ Hindī. It is, however, now confined more or less to the thet̥ or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, प् (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्¹). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी "water, Pr. पाणिं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. पारैपा or नारैन Náráyan, Mg. Pr. पारायणो or नारायणो, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards ष्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Br. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as जम्मा *Jamma* for Skr. यम्ना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels र् r, ह् rh, ल्ह lh and झ् gh. The र् r is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); ह् and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r + h* and *l + h*, as बहै *barhai* grows, कोल्हू *kolhū*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only प्. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to प् at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नासा (not पासो) for Skr. न्यायः: This circumstance — unless Vr's silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

sugarmill. The ় , pronounced $r + h$, as बुर्खिया *bṛkhiyā* old woman, is the aspirate of ় which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr. $\text{়} r$. For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental¹⁾. In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral $\text{়} r$ which is the new letter, but the dental $\text{়} r$. The old Skr. ় has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by ় . To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhi form ় for ় and ় for ় , and the Gurmukhi cerebral ় for the Skr. cerebral ় . The aspirates $\text{হ} rh$ and $\text{হ} lh$ are single sounds in the same sense as $\text{়} rh$; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with $\text{হ} dh$, precisely as র , ল and ় with $\text{়} d$.

16. *Affinities.* Vedic Skr. has a cerebral $\text{়} l$ and $\text{হ} lh$, which in certain schools take the place of an original medial $\text{়} d$ and $\text{হ} dh$ (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semi-vowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from ় and হ arise (cerebral) ় and $\text{হ} h$, then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral) ় or ় and ় , then (dental) ল and $\text{হ} h$, finally E. Gd. (dental) ় and হ . Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial ল , have in E. H. an ় , as O. H. *फूर् fruit* for W. H. *फल्*; E. H. *उरहै it grows up* for W. H. *उलहै*. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying ় instead of ল . This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H. ় is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than ল , of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification²⁾. Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr. ় is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral ় be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has ল for ় (H. C. 4, 288), ় for ত (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and ় or হ for ় (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ় for ল , elides ় , and uses only হ (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H. C. *কলেটি*, in Bhg. *কোই*, in E. H. *কোই he does*; in H. C. *যাপাথ* or *তাপাথ*, in Bhg.

dental र्, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. ३, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, ८. 10. 12. 18), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ज् into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ज् into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental र्; e. g., Skr. र्ण्त्रिः *night*, Mg. Pr. लम्बो, E. H. रात्; Skr. नजः *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नर्. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेनुरो for Mg. Pr. *लंगुलिशा (with pleonastic लिशा = उिका) = Skr. रङ्ू, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लउइ, Skr. रट्ति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ज् (= Skr. cerebral ज्) into dental र्, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोड़; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix जा which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. छजो *goat*, E. H. छेलो or छरी (Skr. छापो, Ap. Pr. छायडिशा), or W. H. नाडो *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी¹). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) र्, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फरू; Skr. कटलकः, Mg. Pr. कयलाद् or केलाद्, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंबः *long*, Mg. लंबे

जाणहू, in E. H. जानहू *yon know*. It appears, then, that the change of ज् to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of र् for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ज् to E. H. र्, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ला and र्; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नङ् *tubular reed, bone, artery, etc.*, whence perhaps नजः *man*; and Skr. नाडी or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्बे (see § 18), E. H. लाम्ब (W. H. लंबा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ल् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes ला or ना for ला (e. g., अपला or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ल् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *páschá* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*¹⁾. It is also noticeable that in the Kaithi alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (ર) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (ର୍) and still preserved in the Gurmukhí for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (ଲ) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (ର୍), and improved into the modern Devanágari (ର୍). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of ର୍ to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gd. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) ର୍ is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and ର୍, nor have they a cerebral ର୍ ?²⁾, but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ର୍ !. The same is true of the S. Gd., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gds. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ର୍ to ର୍, and rarely its ल् to ର୍; hence, probably, its ର୍ is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चायात् रेफल्यत्ययेन (18th páda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चायत्ता स्यद् रेल्पर्यया (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their ର୍ is always *d*, not *r*; and their *r* is equivalent to ର୍ *r*; whence, e. g., W. H. अदृला *wild hog*, probably written for अहैला = वाहेला from Skr. वराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंजार୍ or मंजारୁ for Skr. मार्जारः.

every respect; it has the dental \tilde{r} and cerebral $\tilde{\chi}$, the interchange of \tilde{r} and $\tilde{\chi}$, and no $\tilde{\chi}$; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange \tilde{l} and \tilde{r} . N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental \tilde{r} and cerebral $\tilde{\chi}$, and the want of $\tilde{\chi}$; and though they do not interchange \tilde{l} and \tilde{r} , they have the analogous change of \tilde{l} to \tilde{r} or \tilde{n} . The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the $\tilde{\chi}$; this is strange; I suspect that its $\tilde{\chi}$ is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both $\tilde{\chi}$ and \tilde{l} , e. g., गोल् and गोळ् ball; sometimes it has \tilde{l} , where the W. Gds. have $\tilde{\chi}$; e. g., G. रक्षु॑, M. रक्षो॒, but O. रलिता॑ to confound. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral $\tilde{\chi}$; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels \tilde{u} and \tilde{v} are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जी॑रे he lives for जी॑ + रे॑ (Pr. जी॑रह॑); खायल् eaten for खाइल् (Pr. खाइद॑); जाय॑ के having gone for जाइ॑ के; जाव॑ they may go for जा॑ + व॒॑; again लेव॑ to take for ले॑व॒॑; रोबल् he wept for रो॑ + बल्॑; घोड़न्वा horse for घोड़न्शा॑; जाव॒॑ I may go for जान्व॒॑, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí, \tilde{v} is always written for \tilde{u} , and \tilde{u} not uncommonly for \tilde{v} . Whenever such apparently organic \tilde{u} or \tilde{v} occur initially, they must be pronounced \tilde{u} or \tilde{v} respectively; as पोग॑ or जोग॑ jog worthy; संयुत् or संजुत् sañjut joined; बात् or बात् bāt word; बाट॑ or बाट॑ bātai he is; संवत् or संबत् sambat year. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा játrā pilgrimage, बाचार्य ácháraj preceptor. The sound of \tilde{u} is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly b nor v ; of the two it is nearer to b ; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *theṭh bháshá*; in the *kharí bháshá*, it is, as a rule, distinctly b . The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic* \tilde{u} or \tilde{v} ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नारैन्

or नारायण *Náráyan* (Pr. नारायणे); देवोदार् *pine* (Pr. देवदार्). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देवता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write य् and य॒; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities.* This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial य् always changes to ज् in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even ज् (whether initial or medial) changes to य् (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. योजन्य्, Sr. ज्ञोजपा॑, Mg. योयपा॑. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the य्, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semi-vowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the difficulty appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* य्

and ়. The palatal semiconsonant *y* still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb¹⁾. But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of ় and ় on the one side and of ় and ় on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* ় and ় is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* ় and ়²⁾. The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels *y* and *v*; whence it follows, that the organic ় and ় must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants³⁾. It is this semiconsonant ়,

1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of ়), but Panjabī rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabī says मज़ majh “a buffalocow” the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal *y* aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*“ (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to *g* (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. কুচিয়াক বা ॥ গায়ান গয়ান বা ॥ 46. কুচিদু কল্প বা। সুহোৱা সুহোৱা বা ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic *y* or *v* is inserted, as *gayānam* for *gaṇānam* (Skr. *gaganam*), *suhavo* for *suhaṇo* (Skr. *subhagah*). Again H. C. I, 180. কর্পোর যমৃতি:; and T. V. I, 8. 10 যমৃতি: নয় ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels *ା* or *ା* an euphonic *y* is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Md. 2, 2. বনাদৰু শদিতো কৰার্পোর পঠিতব্যো। যকাৰ্বদিতি পাঠশিক্ষা ॥ (MS. fol. 8^a). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. I, 8. 10 calls the euphonic *y* লভুপঘন্তৰ্যকাৰ „pronounced with smaller effort“; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic ় the Pr. পায়াৰ eye for Skr. নয়ন is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) ় was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic ়. Again ় and ় are in Pr. sometimes *vocalised* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ় and ়; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. ए or ए॒, but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.¹⁾. They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. ए॒ for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ए॒; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. ए॒ mb does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म्म् mm, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म्व् mv with the semicons. ए॒²⁾). Thus Skr. जन्म॑०, Pr. जन्म॑० or जन्म॒० (Spt. 192); Skr. निष्ठ॑०, Pr. निष्ठ॑० or निष्ठ॒० (Spt. 252); Skr. अन्त्र॑०, Pr. अन्त्र॑० or अन्त्र॒० (Spt. A. 32); Skr. क्रिष्ण॑०, Pr. क्रिष्ण॑० or क्रिष्ण॒० (Spt. 208); also Pr. अन्तं or अन्तं (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अन्तं);

occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the ए॒ and ए॑ thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. नयति of नि + यति is Pr. नेदि, Skr. भवति of भू + वति is Pr. होदि, Skr. तन्त्री of तनु + त्री is Pr. तप्तुर्, etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants ए॑ and ए॒ are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. नान्पाणं (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लाक्षण्यं is Pr. लाक्षणं (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels ए॑ and ए॒ are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants ए॑ and ए॒ like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. क्षाया to Pr. क्षाहा (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पोऽवः: v takes the place of p; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 ओऽवः: v takes the place of b; Vr. 2, 2 °पयवां प्रायो लोपः। Md. 2, 2 प्रायः °पवयवां लोपः (MS. fol. 8^a) „as a rule v etc. are elided”. These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant ध॒; thus H. C. 4, 396 अनादौ स्त्रादसंयुक्तानां कलतथपां गथदध्यमा. „medial single p, ph etc. become b, bh etc.”.

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced ए॒ b, not ए॒ v; otherwise the forms ought to be जन्म॑०, etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant ए॒ b, but only to neutral ए॒; the example लोठश्चो for Skr. लब्धकः does not prove that it does, as ए॒ would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्हति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्हर् or चुम्हइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. ए were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant ए. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S^e. Gd., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. ए in the place of the Skr. conjunct ए॒, the E. Gd., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gd. practices, cf. § 16), shows म् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct म॒¹⁾) and hence the pronunciation म्॒ for Skr. म॒॒; thus Skr. जम्बुः, Mh.-Sr. जम्बू, M. जाँबू, G. जाँबू, but E. H., B., O. जाम्, S. जाम्, Mg. *जम्बू॒; Skr. निष्ठः, Mh.-Sr. णिष्ठो, W. H., M., G. नीष्ठू॒, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. *निष्ठे॒; Skr. निष्कू॒, Mh.-Sr. णिष्कू॒शो, W. H., M., G. निष्कू॒, but E. H., B., O. नीमू॒, S. निमू॒ or लिमू॒, Mg. *निष्मू॒॒; Skr. लम्भः, Mh.-Sr. लम्भो, W. H. लम्भा, but E. H. लाम्॒, Mg. *लम्प॒॒; Skr. अम्भू॒, Mh.-Sr. अम्भं, W. H., P. अम्भू॒, M. अम्भा, G. अँभो॒, but E. H., B., O. आम्॒, S. आमो (also अम्बु॒), Mg. *अम्प॒॒; Skr. ताम्भू॒, Mh.-Sr. तम्भं, W. H., P. तांभा॒, M. ताँबै॒, G. ताँबू॒, but E. H., B., O. ताम्॒ or तामा॒, S. टामो॒, Mg. *तम्प॒॒ (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्भलः *blanket*, Mg. *कम्पले॒, E. H. कम्पलू॒ (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. *म्प॒॒ is preserved; Skr. सम्भुधयते॒, Mg. *सम्पुद्धिइ॒, E. H. समुक्तै॒²⁾). *Secondly*, while E. Gd. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant ए॒, the other Gd. languages have either the semivowel ए॑ or the consonant ए॒ (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gur-mukhí (i. e. Panjábi) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágari), Bangálí and Oriya have only one, namely ए॑, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. ए॑) or *over* (O. ए॒) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. राव॑न् Rávan,

1) The Mg. semicons. ए॒ seems to have a tendency to change to म्॒, e. g., Mg. माहपा for वाहपा (Skr. व्राहपा); Mg. वेसमपा for वेसवपा (Skr. वैश्ववपा); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्भौ॒ the assimilation म्॒ appears to be common to all Gds.: cf. Bs. II, 108. H. सम्भौती॒, G. सम्भूती॒, M. सम्भूत॒.

कवन् *kavan* who; but वचन् *bachan* word, "बन् *ban* wood¹⁾). On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel एँ and consonant एँ remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant एँ in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. एँ in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. एँ has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant एँ, and the Mg. medial semicons. एँ has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel एँ and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. कुधते, Mg. कुडाइ, E. H. कूफौ *he knows*; Skr. प्रपञ्च, A. Mg. सवह, E. H. सोह. The case of एँ and एँ is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant एँ, to which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers²⁾. From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant एँ was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel एँ and consonant एँ, so the semicons. एँ was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. एँ and cons. एँ; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct एँmb is pronounced in Mg. एँmv and changed to एँmm, so the Skr. conjunct एँñj is in Mg. pronounced *एँñy and becomes उञ्ज ñm³⁾). Once more: as the Bangálí and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and एँ, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. एँ) or hook (O. एँ) under the एँ when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. एँ was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágari, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where एँ (i. e. एँ or dot *within* एँ) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 तो यः *y takes the place of j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 जययां यः *y takes the place of j, dy and y.*

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 न्यपञ्चज्ञां उञ्जः ññ *takes the place of ñj* etc.; as अञ्जली for Skr. अम्ली, धपाञ्जर् for Skr. धनञ्जयः, पञ्जले for Skr. पाञ्चलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gds.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is मिञ्ज *marrow* for Skr. *माञ्ज़ (see Tr. XXVII).

of *y*¹). On the other hand the Gurmukhi and (in this case also) Kaithi have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*²). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. ়, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. ় has been hardened in the modern E. Gd. into the full consonant ়, and the Mg. medial semicons. ় is softened into the semivowel ়, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. জানাতি *he knows*, Mg. জাপ্তি, E. II. জানে; Skr. রূপনী *night*, Mg. রূপনী, E. H. রূপনি or রূপনি. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Rr. of the Bhagavati, where *ry* and *rij* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithi has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. ়, but only the double semicons. ়, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. ়, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. ় is confirmed

1) This shows again that the semicons. ় was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhámaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term স্থানে (he says তক্ষাৎস্য যক্ষারো ভবতি), which he employs in all other sútras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says একার্তস্কার্যো: স্থানে প্রকারো ভবতি; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 যক্ষার্তস্কার্যো: স্থানে ল্বো ভবতি i. e. *yy* for *rij* and *ry*. Now in the Bhagavati *rij* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhámaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *ry* and *rij* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhám'. time the semicons. ় had already hardened into the full cons. ়, though it was still written ় (as in modern B. and O.), but the double ় was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gd., however, it too has hardened to ়.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithi, too, a dot is placed under ়, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus সত্য *true*; which shows, that formerly ় (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct न् *jñ* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm. न् changes to अ् *nn* in Mh.-Sr.¹⁾ (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. १, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to अ् *ññ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293; T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form अ् *ññ*, but have always न् *n* or ए् *n*; as Skr. रात्रि *queen*, Pr. रात्री or रत्री, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *यज्ञोविश्वं or जन्मोविश्वं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. जनोड, E. H. जनउ (for जनोउ see § 26. 122), M. जनवे०, S. जणयो, W. H. जनेउ; Skr. आस्ति *order*, Pr. आपा० (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सज्ञा or सन्ना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञापिका, Pr. विस्तिका or विनृतिका, H. बिनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञापिका, Pr. सज्ञतिका or सनृतिका, H. सनती *instead* (lit. *killing*)²⁾. If न् was pronounced as a semicons. (ए्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. ए् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of न्, beside that into अ् or न्न्. The Skr. base राज् *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राइण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form *राजिण or *राजिन or Mg. *रायिष. Here, evidently the conjunct न् has been dissolved into जिण or जिन, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन. On the same principle the E. H. word सझन् or सेन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. *सज्ञणा or *सज्ञिणा, Skr. संज्ञा³⁾. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that न् of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes न् (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has जान्; they also say that न् of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes इन् (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5), but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. देवक्षु (H. C. 2, 83) or *देवन्नू, Skr. दैवतः (lit. *inspired*); and वीन् or वीना *seeing*, Pr. *विज्ञू or *विनृू, Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रात्री.

of श् being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gd. either as ष g (E. and W. Gd.) or ष d (S. Gd.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ज् be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. ष. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original जिन becomes गिन or दिन. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of गिन contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. गिनान्, H. ग्यान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. गमिना, H. ग्रामा *order* for Skr. आसा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. जग्य or जाग् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form जग्य in which the conjunct ष gy has become subject to the ordinary Gd. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वज्ञ omniscient for *सर्वग्नु (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °गिन° is changed to ग्न्य gnya; and M. has दन्य dnya for °दिन°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. gnyán, in M. dnydn. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ष jñ in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels ष and ए are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gd.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants ष s and ष sh of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स् s, as शिव siu (सिउ) Śiva. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols ष and ष are commonly used; but they are always pronounced s and kh respectively (as سوئي khis happy, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithi) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanagari characters स् s and ख् kh.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of **q** had been already lost in all Prs.; that of **q** in the Mh.-Sr. and that of **q** in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have **q**, the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no **q**, W. and N. Gd. no **q**. S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no **q**. In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as *s*; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as *s*. In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both **q** and **q** are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal *s*; thus **शिव** and **विष्णु** are *śiva* and *vishnu*. — In writing, the character **q**, more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the *table*), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of **kh**. Similarly E. Gd. uses **q**, and W. and N. Gd. **q**, and S. Gd. **q** and **q** indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three *characters* **q**, **q**, **q** (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H. phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic) ق **q**, خ **kh**, غ **gh** and ح **h** become respectively the pure gutturals **ک**, **ل**, **م** and **ہ**; as کوئل for فول agreement, لامی only or empty; ماریب غریب poor; حال حاں state; هر every.

2) The semipalatals (arabic) ص **z**, ض **z̤**, ظ **z̥** become pure palatal **ڙ**; as کاغذ (O. H. **ڪاڳڏ**) paper; جاڻتی زیادتی **ڪاڳڏ** paper; جاڻتی more (see Bs. II, 54); جامندیار زمیندار **ڄامنڌار** landholder; جامنی سعیت **ڄامنڌ** surety; جاھیر ڦاھیر **ڄاھير** manifest.

3) The semicerebrals (english) *t* and *d* become pure cerebral **ڌ** and **ڌ** respectively; as کلکٹر **ڪلڪٽر** collector, لاد **لاد** lord.

4) The semidentalts (sibilants) ط **t** and ش **sh** become pure dental **ڌ** and **ڌ** respectively; as تیئار **ٿیئار** ready; سائبنت **ٿاٻنٽ** ثابت proved; صاحب **صاحب** master, sir; خوش **خوش** happy.

5) The semilabial ف f becomes pure labial ف, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., فَهِدَى *phaidá* for ظَاهِيْلَهُ *faidá profit*.

6) The spirants غ q and (sometimes) و w are dropped; and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as مَا لَمْ *málm* for مَعْلُومٌ *known*, مَكْفِكٌ *máfkik* for مَوْافِقٌ *like*.

3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (:) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि also another, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ते विं, E. H. अनउ or अनौ; Skr. यशोवान् glorious, A. Mg. Pr. जसावते or जसवते, E. H. जसवं; Skr. दुर्बलः weak, Mg. दुर्बले, E. H. दूब्ऱ; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निचिन्त, E. H. निचीन्; Skr. नित्यागति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालङ्, E. H. नित्यारै; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निष्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः fire, Mg. आगी, E. H. आगि; Skr. दुःखं pain, Mg. दुख़, E. H. दुख; Skr. अन्तःकरणं conscience, Mg. अंतङ्कलणं, E. H. अंतकरन्; Skr. निष्कालयति expels, Mg. निष्कालइ, E. H. निकालै; Skr. निष्पासः breath, A. Mg. निस्सासे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख़, अंतःकरण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindí pronounces or writes¹⁾ it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duhhk*, and *antakaran* not *antahkaran*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as करः[ा] *karaba* (*you will do*); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 28. 6); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the quiescence of the ā, which could not be unless the ā were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The anusvára should be carefully distinguished from the *anundśika* (◦). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the pure sounds, whether vowels or consonants¹), are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant¹), is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the *anusvára*, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them *anu-násika* or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* another sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. *anusvára*, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except र् r, स् s and ह् h²); but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, न् n, ञ् ñ, ण् nn, न् n, म् m. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. ग् g, ल् l, ङ् ng and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anuyásika*) is indicated by the sign (◦), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus त् ल् t, द् य् d, व् व् v, श् श् ś, अ् ा á, इ् ि í, ऊ् औ ú, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or *anusvára*) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also ण् s and ण् sh; and in Gd. also झ् r.

thus अ॒ अ॑ is the vowel *a* succeeded by a nasal tone, while अ॒ अ॑ is the nasalized vowel *ā*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal अ॒ *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gd. respectively, the following general laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the body of the word. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before स॑' s (अ॒, ए॒) and ह॑ h must be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it must be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, अ॒ or ए॒ or ओ॒ (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before स॑ (Mg. अ॒) must be the anusvára; b) before ह॑ and any cons. proper it may be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ह॑ changes to अ॒ (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels अ॒, ए॒ and ओ॒ remain, as a rule, unchanged¹⁾; but occasionally अ॒ before ए॒ may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels ए॒ may become अ॒ with or without anunásika or be elided²⁾ (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2. 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gd.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before स॑, ह॑, and any cons. proper it may be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ह॑ becomes अ॒; c) before semivowels

1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. अमिका *tamarind*, Pr. अमलिका, H. अमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally ए॒ before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. गर्हाणे or गर्हाण॑ (H. C. 8, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. गर्हे.

and vowels it is often changed to anunásika, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b)* Skr. हंसः *goose*, A. Mg. हसे, E. H. हौस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंहः *lion*, A. Mg. सिहे or सिहु (or सिंहे), E. H. सोँह or सोँहु or सिहु (or सिंह § 13); Skr. पङ्कः *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पाँक् or पङ्क् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अञ्जपां or अञ्जणां, E. H. अञ्जन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्ठकः *thorn*, Mg. कंठए or कण्ठए, E. H. काँटा or कण्ठा; Skr. चन्दः *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँदू or चन्दू; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंपइ or कम्पइ, E. H. काँपै or कम्पै; *ad c)* Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुणां or पुन्न, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्यइ, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्यइ, E. H. गमै; Skr. तम्बुलः *roseapple*, Mg. तम्बुले or *तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. ताम्बुन्; Skr. अमृम् *mango*, Mg. अम्बं or *अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. आम्; Skr. जन्मयते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जन्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जामै or जमै; Skr. अमरकः *bee*, Ap. अवँउ, E. H. औँरा; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कबलं, E. H. कबल्; Skr. कुमारः *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुम्भर or कुचर; Skr. स्थाने *at (a place)*, Mg. थाणे or (Ap.) थापि, 'E. H. थे'; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पञ्चतीसा or पञ्चतीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैँतीस् (for पवँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a)* occasionally the anusvára is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *b)* occasionally an anusvára is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ)* the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be anusvára (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ)* a nasal, preceding इ by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *a* and *β)* the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting anunásika for anusvára; *γ)* in this case also anunásika is substituted for anusvára; *δ)* either इ is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad a) Skr. चिंशति: twenty, Pr. चीसा, E. H. चीसू; Skr. सिंह: lion, Pr. सोहो or सिंहो, E. H. सोह् or सोँह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् flesh, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास् or माँस् or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति he collects, Pr. संहरइ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. समुद्रे before, Pr. समुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोँहोँ; Skr. पठन् reading, Mg. पठ्ने, E. H. पठन्; Skr. संस्थ: together with, Mg. संये or सत्ये, E. H. सात्; ad β) Skr. वक्तम्, Pr. वक्त, E. H. बाँक्; Skr. अस्तुअम् tear, Pr. अस्तुअं, E. H. अँसू; Skr. सत्यम् true, Pr. सत्सं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा sleep, Pr. पिन्द्रा, E. H. नीँदू, etc. (see § 149); ad γ) Skr. पङ्कः row, Pr. पंतो, E. H. पाँति; ad δ) Skr. चिह्नम् sign, Pr. चिह्नं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मणः Brāhmaṇ, Mg. ब्रह्मणे, E. H. ब्रामन् or ब्रह्मन्; Skr. कृष्णः krishna, Mg. कण्हे, E. H. कानू or कनह् (as in कानपुर Cawnpur and कनहैया लालू Kanhaiyá Lal); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् we; Skr. कुष्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहरू; Skr. युष्म०, Pr. तुश्व०, E. H. तोहरा your. Secondly; as regards the nasal म् at the end of a word: 1) In Skr. a) before consonants it may become अनुस्वारा or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it must become अनुस्वारा; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. S. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gd. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this is on the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं त्रोट्यति or फलन्त्रोट्यति he breaks fruit, Pr. फलं तोड़इ, E. H. फरू तोड़ै; Skr. फलं लभते or फललूँभते he takes fruit, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फरू ले; Skr. फलमवहति he gathers fruit, Mg. फलं अबहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फरू (बोहरै); Skr. दधि curds, Pr. दहिं or दहिं or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहो०, E. H. दहो०. This induction clearly proves two things. Firstly; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether¹⁾. In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before श् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before श्, and in Gd. before both श् and ह्. Secondly, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मै I for मै॒, हो॑ लिप for हो॒ लि॒, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the old school in their writing and printing²⁾, is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the dot is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चांदू chād or चंदू chand, but not चांदू. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short श् श्, that श् श् becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); अन्दोरु अन्ते पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य अन्दोरु अपभ्रंशे उच्चारत्वाद्यतः भवति पायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (·), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◦).

quiescent ā will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virdma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bágh* tiger (not *bágha*); बात् *bát* word; चलत् *chalat* walking; होइब् *hoib* we shall be.

Exception. It is always pronounced in the 2nd pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब् *höiba* you shall be (not *hoib*), बाट् *bát* you are (not *bádt*).

25. An antepenultimate आ ā is always made अ ā which with a following इ ī or उ ū optionally, yet generally, combines to ए ai and औ au. Antepenultimate ई ī, उ ū, ए ē, औ ḍ are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. euphonic य् and र्). Thus रमन्वा *ram'vá* long form of राम् *rám* Ráma; गिधन्वा *gidh'vá* of गीध् *gidh* vulture; घोरन्वा *ghor'vá* of घोरा *ghorā* horse; बेटन्वा *beṭ'vá* of बेटा *betá* son; मिटक्ना *mit'ká* of मोटा *mitá* sweet; नाउन्वा or नौशा *nauá* of नाऊ *náu* barber; भाईया *bhaiyá* or भैया *bhaiyá* of भाई *bhai* brother; बतिया *batiyá* of बात् *bát* word; सुतल्लोँ *sut'lō* 1st pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sútāb* to sleep; खाइबोँ *khaibō* or खैबोँ *khaibō* 1st pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *kháib* to eat; कराउतोँ *karaūtō* or करौतोँ *karauṭō* 1st pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karáib* to cause to do (for करावन्तोँ *kardv'tō*, see § 34); but पौयतोँ (if) I drank; कूशल्लोँ or कूवल्लोँ I touched (see § 65).

Exception. The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मारन्लोँ *már'lō* I killed of मारब्, caus. of मरब् to die.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. ताइसो for *ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तारिसो, Skr. तादृशः such.

26. The short ए ē and औ āi are sometimes reduced to इ ī, and short औ ḍ and औ aū to उ ū; or, more often, all four to अ ā. Thus: बेटिया *bētiyá* or बिटिया *biṭiyá* daughter; कहे *kahē* or कहि *kahi* having said; गैलेन् *gailén* or गैलन् *gailan* they went; गैलै *gailāi* or गैलै *gailā* they went; लौटिया *lōtiyá* or लुटिया *lutiyá* brass vessel; परोसिया *parosiyá* or परसिया *parasiyá* neighbouring; जनोउ *janōu* or जनउ *janaū* brahmanical thread; औ aū or अ a and; और् *aür* or अर् *ar* and; मुमाली or मौमाली *honey-bee*; चावालिस् *chāvalis* or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., केषणा or खिषणा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सप्तिक्ष्वरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः; E. H. सनीक्षर् (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्तुत्रसयं *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अनुनं or अनुनं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); मुडो *drunk* for Skr. शोप्तः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. of what sort, see §. 438, 2).

27. A final anunásika is often omitted; thus तूं *tū* or तू *tū* *you*; तैं *tai* or तै *tai* *thou*; मैं *mai* or मै *mai* *I*; मे॒ं *mē* or मे *me* *in*; नाँहीं *nāhī* or नाँही *nāhī* *not*; जानीं *jánī* or जानी *jánī* *we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, य् *y* is inserted after आ *ā*, इ *i*; and optionally ए॒ *v*, after ऊ *ū*, ओ *o* and ए॑ *e*. But neither य् nor ए॒ can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *i* or ई *ī*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अई *aī* may and ईट *īt* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *i* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyāyal* *it was eaten*; जा + ए = जाए *to go*, पी + अब् = पोयब् *piyab* *to drink*; पी + ऐ = पोऐ *piyai* *he drinks*; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूमत् *chúat* *dripping* from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूए॑ *chúai* *it drips from* चू + ए॑; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअत् *roūt* *weeping* from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोए॑ *roai* *he weeps from* रो + ए॑; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेए॑ के *leai ke* *to take from* ले + ए॑. But खा + ई = खाई *khái* *he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá* *we eat*; पी + ईला = पोईला *piilá* *we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúi* *it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúilá* *we drip*; बोई *boi* *he will sow*, बोईला *boilá* *we sow*; देई *dei* *he will give*, देईला *deilá* *we give*; again खाइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai* *we shall eat from* खा + इबै; पीबै *pibai* *we shall drink from* पो + इबै; खाहबै *kháib* *we shall eat from* खा + इबै; पोइत् *piit* (*if*) *we drank from* पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइब् *chúib* *we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइब् *boib* *we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (*if*) *we took from* ले + इत्.

Exception 1. The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ई; thus पी + ई = पीई *pii* or पो *pi* *he will drink*; जी + ई = जीई *ji* or जौई *jii* *he will live*.

Exception 2. The initial श of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. शओँ etc.), of the pres. part. (शत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. शतोँ etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with श्वो of the verb हो to become आ, ए, श्वो respectively; thus खा + शओँ = खाओँ khādō I shall eat; दे + शओँ = देओँ debō I shall give; हो + शओँ = होओँ hobō I shall be; खा + शत् = खात् khāt eating; दे + शत् = देत् det giving; हो + शत् = होत् hot being.

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. र् r is generally substituted for झ़ rh; thus E. H. तोरै he breaks for W. H. तोड़े; E. H. जोरै he joins for W. H. जोड़े; E. H. बारै garden for W. H. बाड़ी; E. H. जोरू wife for W. H. जोड़ू; E. H. नारै artery for W. H. नाड़ी, etc. Sometimes also इ rh for झ़ rh; as E. H. बाहै bárhai he grows for बाढ़ (W. H. बढ़े); E. H. गाहै gárhai he beats into form for W. H. गाढ़े.

30. र् r is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल् l; thus E. H. फरू fruit for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारै abuse for W. H. गाल्ली; E. H. चरै he walks for W. H. चले; E. H. उरै he throws for W. H. डाले; E. H. करिया black for कलिया, etc.; but never रोगू for लोगू people, etc.

Exception. The ल् of the suff. अल् of the past tense never changes; e. g., गयल् gone, not गयरू; पढलोँ I read, not पढरोँ.

31. ल् l and न् n, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल् for न् in लीला dark blue or नीला (Skr. नील); and न् for ल् in नोन् salt or लोन् (Skr. लवणा, cf. Vr. 1, 7); नंगोट् waistcloth or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्, Mg. लिंगबट्) ¹⁾.

32. इ h may be dropped; 1) always final, thus जेहू कै or जे कै of whom; श्वोहू कै or श्वो कै of that; ऐलहू or ऐल aila you came; करतहू or करत् karata (if) you did. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as तहौं or तहैं there, कहौं or कहैं where, जहौं or जहैं wheresoever, मे or मे[॒] or माही[॒] within; के or (O. H.) काही[॒] towards; मराठा or मरहठा a Maráthá; सगा full brother for *सगहा (see § 120); दिवा day for *दिवहा (see § 134, note).

1) Not from नंगा, Skr. नग्न् naked, as Bs. I, 248; the original इ of लिंगो is preserved in the ए of B. नेंगुटि.

33. A medial व् *v*, followed by इ or ई, is always elided; and further इ (but not ई) combines with a preceding आ á (or अ ā by § 25) to ए ai; thus पाव् + इबो" (= प + इबो") = पैबो" *I shall find*; आव् + इबे = ऐबे *thou will come*; खियाव् + इबह् = खियैबह् *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ई = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ई" = आई" *we come*; खियाव् + इला = खियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial य् *y* or व् *v*, containing a neutral vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to इ *i* and उ *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding अ ā (or originally आ á by § 25) to ए ai or ऐ au. Thus गवल् + ऐस् (= गयन्लेस् *gay'les*) = गइलेस् *gailēs* or गैलेस् *gaîlēs* thou wentest; पिया + अल्यूं (= पिययन्ल्यूं *piyay'lyū*) = पियइल्यूं *piyaiilyū* or पियैल्यूं *piyailyū* *I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो" (= करवन्तो" *karav'tō*) = करउतो" *karaūtō* or करौतो" *karautō* (*if I caused to do*; चराव् + बलेस् (= चरवन्लेस् *charav'lēs*) = चरउलेस् *charaūlēs* or चरौलेस् *charaūlēs* *he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities.* There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus शाइश्चि or शायश्चि = Skr. शाचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for *कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); ओरं for *बउरं for *बवरं = Skr. बद्रम् (H. C. 1, 170); श्रासरूइ for *शउसरूइ for श्वसरूइ = Skr. श्वसरूति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरपाण = Skr. प्रावरपाणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. बृष्मः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as जेदि = *जइदि = Skr. जयति; होदि = *हउदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. छ् *ksh* is always pronounced and written छ् *chh*; thus छोटा *chhotá* small (Skr. छुटकः ?); छतरी *chhatrī* a *chhatri* (Skr. चत्रियः); छमा *chhamá* *forgiveness* (Skr. चमा *kshamā*).

37. ज् *jñ* is always pronounced and generally written ज् *gy*; as ज्ञान् *gyán* *knowledge* (Skr. ज्ञानं *jñana*); आज्ञा *ágyā* *command* (Skr. आज्ञा *ájñā*).

38. झ् *mh* is always pronounced and generally written झ् *ngh* (or झ् *ng*); as संझ् *sangh* *collection* (Skr. संहः *samhah*); संघात् *sanghāt* *collection* (Skr. संहातः *samhatah*); सिंझ् *singh* *lion* (Skr. सिंहः *singhah*); सिंधासन *singhásan* *throne* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. त् *ns* is always pronounced and written त् *ns* (i. e. न्स् *ns*, cf. §§ 13, 23); as बन्स् (or बन्सु) *bans* race (Skr. वंशः: *vamsah*); बंसीधर् (or बन्सीधर्) *bansidhar* a name (lit. flute-holder, Skr. वंशीधरः: *vamsidharah*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsá* slaughter (Skr. हिंता *himsá*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans* goose (Skr. हंसः: *hamsah*), etc. (see § 159).

Note: It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of न्स् and न्ह; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

2) IN DERIVATION¹⁾.

a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. In *limine*, it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvāra* is dropped, and a preceding न becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुत्र॑ *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि॑ *poet* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु॑ *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. प्रगट॑ *manifest*, Skr. प्रकट्य॑; E. H. बन॑ *forest*, Pr. बण॑ (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. बनम्॑; E. H. स॑ or सय॑ *hundred*, Mg. सयं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्॑; E. H. खेत॑ *field*, Pr. खेतं॑ (H. C. 2, 17 छेतं॑), Skr. जेत्रम्॑; E. H. वारि॑ *water*, Pr. वारि॑ or वारि़॑ or वारि॒ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि॑; E. H. मधु॑ *honey*, Pr. मधु॑ or मधु॒ or मधु॓ (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु॑, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. आ or अ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नीद॑ *sleep*, Ap. निद॑ (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. निद॑ा (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाह॑ *arm* (also बाह॒॑), Ap. बाह॑ (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा॑ (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा॑ (fem.); E. H. बात॑ *word, event*, Pr. बहा॑ (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. बाहा॑ (fem.); E. H. राय॑ *prince*, Ap. राय॑ (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया॑ (H. C. 3, 136) or रामा॑ (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा॑ (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई॑ or ई॒ becomes ई॒ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दैर॑ or दैरि॑ *sight*, Ap. दिर॒॑ (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिर॒॑

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. अहिन् or अहिनि *sister*, Ap. अहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. अहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. आगी (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. आग्निः (masc.); E. H. आँख् or आँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. आँखिः (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. आँखी (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. आँखि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहर्फै or बिहरै *thursday*, Pr. विहर्फर्द्दि (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. वृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. जान् or जानि *sage*, Pr. जाणी, Skr. जानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or ऊ becomes ऊ or quiescent ऊ; thus E. H. तर् or तरू *tree*, Ap. तरू (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तरू (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरूः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पंसुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्रवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. शूश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ē or इ or quiescent इ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मैगि or मगो (Mchh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नजः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. करत् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेंति or कलेंते (Mchh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्षितदि or लक्षितदे (Mchh. 112, 6), Skr. लक्षितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लगि or लगो (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्नः; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahē having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिश्च, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. ऊ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. ऊ or quiescent ऊ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. ऊ is still preserved; thus W. H. नर्, O. H. and S. नर् (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नर् (H. C. 4, 362) or पार् (K. I. 9) or Pr. नरो or पारो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कम् (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मग् *road*, Ap. मगु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मगो (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. करत्, Br. करतु *doing*, Ap. करंतु,

Sr. कर्ते or करेते. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. ॐ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49^a) सौ पुस्यदेवितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार् एदितौ स्याताम्। i. e., masc. nouns in ए have a nom. sing. in ओ or इ. The form in इ (like that in ओ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ई ए (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and ओ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in writing, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent ओ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् *wound*, Ap. घात (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घातो, Skr. घातः..

47. Pr. masc. घट becomes आ; thus E. H. घोटा *horse*, Mg. घोड़े, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला *good*, Ap. भला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्ला, Skr. भद्रकः; E. H. घरा *pitcher*, Mg. घड़ा, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities.* The term. घट is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is घओ, and Ap. घउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to आ or (Br.) ओ; thus Br. घोड़ौ, भलौ, घरौ? (Mw., G., S., N. घोड़ो, भलो, घरो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. घोडा, भला, घरा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or ओ; again Mg. Pr. has घट, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has घओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. घट, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or ओ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. घओ. The Ap. Pr. has both घओ and घउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. घउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलौ *good*; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. घओ, by the quiescence of ओ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. घउ, would be घइ (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ई (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तलै talai *bottom*,

E. H. तरा or तला, S. तलो, Ap. Mg. तलइ or तलए, Ap. Sr. तलउ or तलझी, Skr. तलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form आ; as Psh. लगिश्चा *applied*, P. लगिशा, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिश्वर् or लगिद्वय, Skr. लगूकः (lit. *लगितकः), Ap. लगिश्वत्, Br. लगयौ, Sr. लगिश्वन्नो, S. लगिश्वो or लगयो. The Psh. ऐ ai, then, corresponds to Br. औ au; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. अई aī and Ap. (Sr.) अऊ aū respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. आ corresponds to W. and N. Gd. ओ, being contractions of the Mg. ए and Sr. अओ respectively, by the quiescence of ए. It appears, then, that the termin. आ is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. अओ. There are, however, some traces of the term. आ in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिशाला as a Mg. by-form of शिशाले *jackal* (E. H. सियार्). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in आ, and Md. (12, 21. 22. fol 49^b) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलआ (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*¹). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 प्रृथालस्य शिशाला शिशाले शिशालकाः॥ and Md. 12, 21 एदोतौ सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतैः स्यातां। हे वश्चसे। हे वश्चसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदालाम्भा॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ा ends in e or o, as, *he voamse*, *he voamso* (Skr. वयस्य); and Md. 12, 22 आदाज्ञेये। पुंसि सम्बुद्धो अकार् आ स्याद् आज्ञेये। अले ले चेलआ। चकारात्। चेलए। चेलओ॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in ा, in the sense of rebuke, ends in á; also in e and o. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in आ in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 380. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., ठोला मई तुहूँ वाटिशा मा कहू दीहा मापु; this is Bs. ठोला मै तूँ के आरा मत् कहू दीहा मान् i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again बिरूए मई भपिश तुहूँ मा कहू बंकी दिट्ठि, — Bs. बेटी. मै भनि तूँ के मत् कहू वाँकी दीहू i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both आ and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in आ, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in आ; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in एः is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आः is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with 'Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42¹). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आः in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भला हुआ तु मारिआ अहिणि महारु कंतु! (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महारु हलि सहिए निच्छदं रूसेइ जासु! (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भला हुआ तु मारा अहिन् मोरा काँतु, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) काँतु मेरौ सहली निहचै रूसे जासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry².

49. Pr. masc. इए and उए become इः and उः respectively; thus E. H. तेली oilman, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली gardener, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. अहिनोई (W. H. भौनाई) sister's husband, Mg. अहिणिवइए, Skr. भणिनीपतिकः; E. H. नातो grandchild, Pr. नजिशो (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तकः; E. H. भाई brother, Pr. *भाइशो (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भातृकः; again E. H. बिछू scorpion, Mg. बिंछुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लड़ a kind of sweetmeat, Mg. लड्यूए, Skr. लट्कः; E. H. गोहूँ wheat (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहुँबे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोप्तुमः.

50. *Affinities.* These contractions into इः and उः are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाई, Sr. भामिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिछू, Skr. बिंछुओ; W. H. लड़, Sr. लट्को; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाऊ brother, Dk. भाऊए or भाऊओ and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला..

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भला होइआ तो मारिआ अहिन् मेरा काँतु.

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. नातुष्ठो (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb.⁹ Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. *तेल्लिइ, Gd. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिष्ठो, Ap. तेल्लिउ, *तेल्लोउ, Gd. तेलो; or Mg. लट्टुए, Ap. *लट्टुइ, *लट्टुइ, Gd. लट्टु, Sr. लट्टुष्ठो, Ap. लट्टुउ, *लट्टुउ, Gd. लट्टु० (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासू (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासूष्ठो (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सबूपण्णू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for *सबूपणुष्ठो (= Skr. सर्वज्ञः); and other words in ए०

51. Pr. fem. इश्या and उश्या become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिश्या, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माठी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिश्या (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्टिश्या (cf. H. C.⁹ 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउस्थे *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिश्या (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माझ *mother*, Pr. *माइश्या (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवहुश्या (cf. Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधुका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. बालुश्या, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities.* Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माऊ *mother*, Pr. माउश्या (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिश्या, Ap. घोडिश्च (H. C. 4, 330) or *घोडीश्च, Gd. घोडी; Pr. बालुश्या, Ap. बालुश्च or *बालूश्च, Gd. बालू०, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अश्वं, उश्वं and उश्वं become श्वा, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोगणश्वं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवर्णश्वं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. तामा *copper*, Mg. *तम्मश्वं (see § 18) or तम्बश्वं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. तामृकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहश्वं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. धी *clarified butter*, Pr. धिश्वं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. धृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिश्वं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहिश्वं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मौलिन्हं, Skr. मौलिकम्; again E. H. अँसू *tear*, Pr. अँसुं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अँसुकम्; E. H. तू *yoke*, Pr. तुञ्च, Skr. तुञ्चम्; E. H. आलू *potato*, Pr. आलुञ्च, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. तामा, P. तांमा. M. has एँ; as तांगे॒. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अश्व or (becoming masc.) in अर् (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अश्व or with the favorite euph. य्, अर्, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. एँ. From the Mg. masc. अर् arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is इ or उ; as ताँबूँ or ताँबू; in Mw. शो॑ or शो, as ताँबो॑ or ताँबो; in Br. शै॑ or शौ॑ (or also आ); in S. शो॑, as टामो॑. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to शै॑ or शौ॑ and is shortened in G. to इ॑. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अ sometimes becomes masc. इ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलू *water* for n. जलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अं would become masc. अ॒. As regards the forms in इ॑ and उ॑, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पापी॑ *water*, अँसू॑ *tear*) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ becomes इ or ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंज़रा *cage*, A. Mg. पंजलञ्च (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंज़रकम् (also पिंज़रकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. फिरकिरू *splashing*, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory*, A. Mg.

सुमलपां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. स्मरणम् ; E. H. पिचोतरः॑से one hundred and five, A. Mg. पंचुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोन्नग्रातम् ; E. H. चिरई॑ sparrow, Pr. चउड़ाशा (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका ; E. H. खियावै he feeds, Pr. खयावद्द॑, Skr. खाद्यति (*खदापयति); E. H. छिन् moment, Pr. छपो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. ज्ञपाः ; E. H. फिटन्करी alum, Mg. *फट्ट॒क्लालिशा (or *फिट्ट॒क्लालिशा cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. एक्टिकाहिका ; E. H. निनानबे ninety nine, Pr. *नवाणवृद्ध॑, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. छियालिस् forty six for 0. छ्यालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह॑; as E. H. छहत्तर॑ seventy six, Mg. छहत्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः ; E. H. छिलोतरः॑ one hundred and six, A. Mg. क्लुन्नलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षुन्नन्नशतम् ; E. H. लिहल् taken, Mg. *लहिटे¹⁾, Skr. लब्धः (*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् given, Skr. दत्तः ; E. H. लिहिस् thou tookst, O. H. लिहेस्, Ap. Pr. *लहिन्नसि, Skr. लधोऽसि (*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् they took, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिन्नहि, Pr. *लहिन्नति, Skr. लब्धा: सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् thou yavest, दिहिन् they gave ; E. H. किहिस् thou didst, O. H. किहेस् for *करेस्, Ap. *करिन्नसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि²⁾; E. H. किहिन् they did. Again ई in तीसी flux, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिने he counts, Pr. गणाइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणायति ; W. H. छिमा forgiveness, Skr. ज्ञमा ; W. H. पिछली or पछिली, Ap. Pr. पच्छल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, छमा and पाछिल् or पछिला.

56. अ becomes उ or ऊ ; very rarely ; as E. H. पुश्चाल् straw, Skr. पलाली ; E. H. मूळ (also माँळ, see § 57) mustache, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or *मंकू? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. प्रम्बु ; E. H. खुतली itch, Ap. Pr. *खत्तुउिश (Skr. खत्तूः).

Note: W. H. उगली finger, Pr. अंगुलिशा (cf. H. C. 4, 383), Skr. अङ्गुलिका ; O. H. चुगन् bird (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणा, Skr. शकुनः ; but E. H. चंगुरी, सगुन्.

1) cf. Spt. 146 लहितपा = Skr. *लभित्वा or लब्धता ; and P. past part. लहिन्ना.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 503.

57. अ becomes ए, ऐ, ओ or ए, ए, ओ; rarely; E. H. मेहर (or मेहरी or मेहरान) woman, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवारू (or केवारा) door, Pr. कवाड़ो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोंचू break; Pr. *चंचू, Skr. चच्छुः; E. H. मोहू mustache (see § 56), Po. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. मम्बु; E. H. सेंधु hole (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. इ becomes ए; rarely; E. H. ऐतना this much, Mg. एतिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिरो, G. एटजो; E. H. तेतना so much, Mg. तेत्रिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना how much soever, Mg. जेत्रिलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केत्रिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् waistcloth, Mg. लिंगवट्, Skr. लिङ्गपट्; E. H. धर्ती earth, Mg. धलित्रिआ, Skr. धर्त्रिका; E. H. पोर्सा fathom, A. Mg. पउलिसन्न (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. पर्खै or परिखै he examines, Mg. पलिक्षइ, Skr. पजीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् suffix of past part., Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पडल् or पढिल् read, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. II. °अब् or °इब् suffix of infinit., Ap. इब्वं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पढब् or पढिब् to read, Ap. पठिब्वं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

Note: Also W. H. गहर deep, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गमीरस्; W. H. बहर dumb, Pr. बाहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् trouble, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् joy, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् rain, year, Pr. बरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् touch, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर्, बहिर्, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्. The Pr. form एत्रिलं or (in some MSS.) एत्रिलूं is probably a curtailment of एत्रिअलं, composed of एत्रिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or लू), and curtailed just as Ap. इब् from Mh.-Sr. इब्बू, e. g., Ap. पठिब्वं for Sr. पठिष्वं.

59. इ or इ becomes उ or ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहर् or पहरी or पहरा watchman, Mg. पहली, Skr. पहगी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बँदू drop, Pr. बिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. बिन्दुः.

Note: Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी sojourner.

60. उ becomes ए; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् own, Pr. आपुलं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. आपसो; E. H. पतोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवृ॒द्धः, Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. उगर् stars, Mg. उगरो (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उगरणः; E. H. कुटकी a kind of medicine, Pr. *कुटुंकिशा, Skr. कुटुंकिका; E. H. जथा troop, Pr. *जुत्यां, Skr. यूक्तम्; E. H. सामहौं or समहौं in front of, Ap. समुहूह्, Skr. सम्पूर्णे (H. H. सामहने); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् bad son, Mg. *कुपुत्, Skr. कुपत्रः; also E. H. बूँद् or बुंदा drop, Mg. विंदुए, Skr. विनुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उगलो finger, Pr. अंगुलिशा, Skr. अंडुलिका; W. H. बिजली, Pr. विज्ञुलिशा (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. विष्णुत्; W. H. कूकर् dog, Pr. कुङ्करौ, Skr. कुङ्क्राः; W. H. जौबन् roseapple-tree, Pr. जंबुलो, Skr. जम्बुलः; W. H. समजे he understands, Pr. संबुद्धइ, Skr. सम्बृध्यते; Mw. कपा or कुपा who (see § 438, 2); but E. H. अंगुरी, बिजुरी, कुङ्कर, जासुन्, समूजै, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् own, the change of उ to औ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्यपायं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ and ऊ become respectively इ and ई; very rarely; as E. H. तनिक् small, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् again, Pr. पुषो or पुष्टु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. आई (fem.) wind, Pr. वाऊ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वाति: masc.); बुंदो (fem.) drop, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. विनुः.

62. उ becomes ए; very rarely; as फेफारा lungs, Skr. फुफुसः.

63. औ becomes इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् husband-man, A. Mg. *किसापो, Skr. कृषापाः; E. H. गोध् vulture, Mg. गिठे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृहः; E. H. मार्द् mother, Mg. मारूशा (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H. C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भार्द् brother, Mg. *भारूर्, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीता brother's son, Mg. *भत्तिज्जर्, Skr. भ्रातृज्ञकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of औ to औ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. मार्दिपां gen. pl. for Skr. मातृपास् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives घिठो and Bh. गाइयो; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of औ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिशो for कृषितः as an analogy for किसापो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिशो and नत्तुशो for भृत्यकः as an analogy for भारूको and भातृशो (H. C.

1, 181) = भातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भवित्वो = भातृतः.

64. ओ becomes इ; very rarely; as गोहूँ or गोहूँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधुमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहूँ.

65. *Short vowels become long*; very rarely; E. H. ठीला loose, A. Mg. स्थिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. प्रायिलकः; E. H. पूर or पुर town, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर् for Skr. मूसलम्; especially in the verbal roots धो drink, सौ sew, छू leak, छू touch, मू die, ओ sow, नौ bow, मौ roam; e. g., E. H. धोयै, Pr. पिश्ट, Skr. पिवति; E. H. चूए, Pr. चुब्र (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हन्त्रीण *she-elephant* for Pr. हत्यिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, इ, उ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी mare for घोरेश = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. *Long vowels become short*; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार् watering place, Pr. पापिष्वसाला (or perhaps Ap. *पापिसाला, eliding अ as in इब्बू for इश्वर् see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्रौ watermill, Pr. पापिष्वचक्रिन्द्रा, Skr. पानौयचक्रिका; E. H. कुलवारी flowergarden (for कूलवारी), Pr. *कुलवाडिआ, Skr. कुलवाटिका; E. H. अध्यपका half-ripe (for आधपक), Mg. अठपक्कर, Skr. अध्यपकुकः; E. H. नदीया name of a town in Bengal (for नादीया), Mg. नष्टदीयए, Skr. नवदीपकः; E. H. मुमाली honey-bee (for मैमाली), Mg. महुमकिबआ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया lamp (also दीया and दोवा), Mg. दीयए (or *दियए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिकिशं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पत्तान् stone, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पत्ताल् hades, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरक्का swoon, Skr. मूर्खः; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुब्बरा weak from दूबर्, Mg. दुख्लए, Skr. दुर्लक्षकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् all for *साब्, Mg. सब्, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. *Vowels are nasalized*; often optionally before इ and उ; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह or मुह mouth, face, Mg. मुह (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. मुख्य् ; E. H. येह् or येह् *rain*, Mg. येहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. येधः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवहे (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. प्राप्यः ; E. H. छाह् *shade*, Pr. शाही (H. C. 1, 249) or छोहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. शाया; E. H. आह् or आह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. आह or आहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. आहा (fem., but आहुः masc.); E. H. माहैं or माहीं or माहीं "within", Ap. मर्त्तमाहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खास्तो or खास्तो *cough*, Pr. खासिचा (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हास्तो or हासी *laughter*, Pr. हासिचा (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घास् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घासे, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पात् or पात् *foot*, Ap. पात, Sr. पात्रा, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूत्रा or कूत्रा or कूत्रा or कूत्रा *well*, Ap. कूबउ or कूबउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जायूँ or जाइँ *they go* (for जाएँहि), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जंति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, त् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. तिवॉ or जेवॉ *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. जूँ; Ap. तिवॉ or तेवॉ *thus*, E. H. त्यौ.

β) 'VOWELS IN CONTACT.'

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic semivowel* (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, "when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइसन् *of what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गहल् *he went*, but M. गेला, Mg. *गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *eaten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे."

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. अटिहा or अटिया *inferior*; E. H. इहै or इवै or इरै *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचयणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार् *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. अपिन्नभार्तो (see § 321); E. H. अहा *a pleon. suff.* Mg. अधए, Skr. *अककः (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आजट् *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अश्ववट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, छिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prákrit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. S. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words फलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, छाला, etc. (for सफ्टिक, निकष्, चिकुर, छाया) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavati (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptasataka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. sandhi is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to य ya, and of ओ or उ to वा va. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or अा with इ to ऐ; अ or अा with उ to औ; इ with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to ओ or ओ or ऊ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ऊ to ए; ओ with अ to ओ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. Expansion - sandhi is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, आव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and ऊय् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नौ-अस् =

नावः; धी-श्वस् = धियः; लू-श्वस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to ए in पवद्यो or पचेद्यो or पउद्यो = Skr. पंकोष (Vr. 1, 40); आवज्जं for *शाश्वोज्जं or आउज्जं = Skr. आतोयम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or ऊ to इ in सोष्मलं for *सोबमलं for *सोउमलं = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); तुञ्चलं for *तुवलं or तुञ्जलं = Skr. तुकुलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for *उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उउहलो = Skr. उट्टखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for *सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to य. Also the contraction of इ + श to ए and उ + श to ऊ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. श्विनि-श्वस = श्वेषः; मधु-श्वस् = मधेषः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guna* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to श्व् and श्व॒ and contraction of the resultant dissyllable श्वय and श्वव to ए and ऊ; as *श्वायः = श्वेषः; *मधवः = मधेषः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus बेइलं for *वयइल् for विश्रहलं = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कस्तेरो for *कस्तयारो for कस्तिश्वारो = Skr. कर्पिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एपिहं for *श्वपिणं for इश्वपिणं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. LS. 129); एत्तिश्वं for *श्वत्तिश्वं for *इश्वत्तिश्वं = Skr. इयत्तिकम्; केत्तिश्वं for *कयत्तिश्वं for *किश्वत्तिश्वं = Skr. कियत्तिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एदूहं for *श्वदूहं for *इश्वदूहं = Skr. *इयादृशम् (i. e. *इयत् + दृश or ईदृश; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केदूहं for *कयदूहं for *किश्वदूहं = Skr. *कियादृशम् (or कोदृश) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for *श्वव for उश = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरूह for श्ववहरूह = Skr. श्ववहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for *पवरो for *पूश्वरो = Skr. पूत्रः (H. C. 1, 170); पीफलं for *पवफलं for *पूश्वफलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for *सवस्तारो for *सुश्वस्तारो for सुवस्तारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of श + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for श्वः = Skr. श्विय (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus श्व, श्वउ, श्वउ, as द्वैश्वो = Skr. द्वैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरूणं = Skr. पावरूणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वैरम् for स्वैर्यम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. श or शा with श or शा becomes शा; as E. H. इहौ here,

Ap. Pr. एहां, Skr. ईद्यो (scil. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार् *yours* (W. H. तुम्हारी), Ap. Mg. *तुम्हकलिए or *तुम्हकलिए or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. गुप्ताकम्?; E. H. खात् *eating*, Mg. खाचते, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सड़धृष् (fem.) *bad odour*, Pr. *मुउडिन्धंधी, Skr. *प्राउदितान्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. रात् *name of a caste*, Mg. *लाज्जउत्र, Skr. जात्रूतः; E. H. लोहार् *blacksmith*, Mg. लोहशाले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार् *leather-worker, shoemaker*, Mg. चम्पशाले, Skr. चर्मकारः; E. H. परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Mg. पदिवासा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

Exception. Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal long forms, e. g., रमन्बा Ráma for Mg. लामशाह, Skr. जामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन् or रयन् *night*, Mg. लश्यणी, Skr. जज्ञनी.

74. इ or ई with इ or ई becomes ई; as E. H. पी or पीई *he will drink*, Pr. पिइहइ, Skr. पास्यति (*पिविष्यति), W. H. पीई = Pr. *पिइहइ; E. H. पीबो” *I shall drink*, Ap. Pr. पिइबुड़, Pr. पिइबुँविह, Skr. पास्य० (*पिवितव्य०), see § 309.

75. ऊ or ऊ with ऊ or ऊ becomes ऊ; as E. H. दूना *twofold*, Mg. दुउणाए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345) = *अम्हश्चरिष्ठो or *अम्हकरिष्ठो, Mh. अम्हक्करो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. *अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमार्, W. H. हमारौ (Br.) or म्हारौ (Mw.) *our*; Pr. खाइ or खाच्छ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाय् *he eats*; Pr. राउलं or राश्चउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउर्, W. H. राउल् *a title of honor*; Pr. भाणं or भाश्चणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) *vessel*; Pr. सोणार० (Spt. 194) for सुवस्त्रार०, Skr. सुवर्पाकार०, E. H. सोनार् *goldsmith*; Pr. कुम्हारो or कुम्भारो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्पकारः, E. H. कोऽहर्, W. H. कुम्हार् *potter*; Pr. पावालिशा for पवावालिशा (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका *guardian of a well*; again उघासो for *उउघासो for उघवासो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 34), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् *(perhaps a semi-tatatsama) fasting*, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. ए with इ becomes ऐ, if antepenultimate, but ऐ or यय् aya

or अय् *ay*, if penultimate, optionally; as E. H. गयल् or गइल् or गैल् gone, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307, 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयौ, P. गइथा, Ap. Pr. *गमिष्ठउ; E. H. भयल् or भैल् or भैल् been, Mg. *भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयौ, P. होइथा, Ap. Pr. भविष्ठउ or इविष्ठउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. क्य् or कै having done for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिए (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पूँठै or पैठै he enters, Pr. पृष्ठृइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. *प्रविष्ठति (see § 352); E. H. खड़लोँ or खैलोँ I ate, Mg. खाइट्हम्हि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलोँ or गैलोँ I went, Mg. गमिट्हम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तद्सन् or तैसन् such, Ap. Mg. तद्सिले (see § 111), A. Mg. ताद्सिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or ताद्सिसे (Ls. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

Exception. The termin. एँ and ऐँ of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै he walks (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. करै̄ they do, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै of (lit. done by) = O. H. करि, Ap. *करिउ or *करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in postpositional locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला good, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्हेहि, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4), E. H. पाइँ or पाई or पाइँ or पाई after, G. पाई, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पञ्चे; E. H. आगे before, Ap. Pr. आगइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. आग्ये; E. H. माँहै̄ or मांहै̄ (cf. § 67) within, S. मंके, Ap. Pr. मत्कहिं or मत्कहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहोँ near, by side of, Ap. पक्षकहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे with, for, till, M. लागोँ, Ap. लागहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ with उ becomes औ, if antepenultimate, but औ or अव अवा or अव अव, if penultimate, optionally; thus E. H. चौथ् or चंवथ् or चउथ् fourth, Mg. चउत्थ्ये (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौथा or चउथा fourth, Mg. चउत्थए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. अौध् or अवध् the province of Oudh, also अनुधा (W. H. अनुध्या semitats.), Mg. *अयुठा or *अनुठा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा a honorific title, you (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. जात्रुकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलाउता (or अकॉ or ऊटि) only-born son, Mg. एकलाउतए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °दूर (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. जेठोत् or तेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. जेठउत्ते (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. त्येष्ठपुत्रः.

Exception. The termin. औँ or ओँ of the 1st pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौँ or करोँ *I do*, Ap. करउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. करमि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सत *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सो, सब्, सउ; Skr. प्रातम्. In the postpositional locatives अउ becomes उ; as E. H. पाछू *behind*, Ap. Pr. पच्छुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ऐ and ओ; thus देव्वं and दरव्वं *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. देवम्, but E. H. दैब्; Ap. केहो of *what kind* for *कहहो or *कादिहो, Skr. कीदृष्टः (cf. Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for *कहलं or क्ययलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोणं for *लउणं or लवणं *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोबारो or चउबारो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्बारः, but E. H. चोबार्; Pr. चोत्यो or चउत्यो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौथ्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐ for *अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh. Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to ओ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47, 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चौथा, N. (also Br.) चौथो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोथो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौदा or चौदह् *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चोद (or चौद), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भेल् *been*, but M. भाला (for *हैला, *ह्याला); E. H. लैलोँ *I ate*, M. खालोँ; E. H. ऐलोँ *I came*, M. आलोँ; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ईँ is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरीँ *in a house*, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासीँ *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पार्ष्वे; M. आठो^३ for (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. अटूहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. अर्थे; M. ठाई^४ in (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. G. 4, 16), Skr. स्याने, etc.

80. अ with ई or ऊ becomes ऐ or अय् and ओ or अब् respectively; optionally; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहय् kanhai (krishna); E. H. घडउ or घडौ or घडब् pitcher, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ with इ or ई and with उ or ऊ remains in hiatus; thus E. H. खाइब् we shall eat, Ap. खाइबा (scl. खह), Pr. खाइभ्वाऽऽहो, Skr. खादितव्याः स्यः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. खाई he will eat, Pr. खाहिई (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादिस्यति (W. H. खाहै = Pr. *खाहह); E. H. माई mother, Mg. माइआ (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. आई wind (see § 61); E. H. राउर् you, Mg. लाउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. ग्राम्कुलः; E. H. नाऊ barber, Mg. नाबिए or पहाबिए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः. .

Exception. The suff. उ of the 2nd pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. जो go thou, Ap. जाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 887. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खो eat thou, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद. A final इ or ऊ optionally becomes य् and ब्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ having eaten, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइब्, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ having gone, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइब्, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाईै or जाईै they go, Ap. जाहिई (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. यात्ति; again E. H. घाब् or घाउ wound, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घान्नो, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाब् or पाँब् or पाउ foot, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राब् or राउ a title of nobility, prince, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खावै I eat, Ap. खाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खान्नमि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or ऊ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् eaten, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. राबर् or राउर् you (see above).

83. इ with अ becomes ए; as E. H. डेह or देह one and a half, for *दिश्वङ्, Mg. दिक्षेह (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. निघर् or नेर् near, Mg. निश्चं, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि having

done, Mg. कलिश्च (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चलयोँ, O. H. चलेत्, Ap. *चलिश्चत् (see § 505), Pr. चलिश्चस्मि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

Exception. The nominal termin. इश्च contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. इ with अ becomes औ; as E. H. सोऽधा *sweet scent*, Mg. सुअङ्घट् (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

Exception. The nominal termin. उम्ब contracts to उ; as E. H. अ॒ंसू *tear*, Pr. अंसुंबं; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेह्द *he takes* for *लिहद् or लहद् (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लगते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. शोक्काए॑ (cf. H. C. 1, 173) *magician* for *उश्रक्काए॑ or उवक्काए॑, Skr. उपाधायः, E. H. शोका; Mg. होते for *हुञ्चते or हुवते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवत्, E. H. होत्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. ई or इ with आ become इया and उया; optionally; the insertion of य् is usual, that of ई unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ, *heart*, Pr. हिसअं, Skr. हृष्टयम्; E. H. बियाहू *marriage*. Mg. विआहे, Skr. विबाहः; E. H. पियासू *thirst*, Pr. पियासा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिर्णसी; E. H. पुआलू or (rarely) पुवालू *straw*, Pr. *पलाली, Skr. पलाली; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोरिया or (rarely) घोरिआ *mare*; जोरुआ or (less usually) जोरुवा *wife*, see §§ 195. 199.

Exception. In the nominal short forms, इया and उया are always contracted to ई and उ respectively; see § 51.

87. ई with इ or उ becomes इयु and उयु; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सित् or सियु *Siva*, Ap. सित्, Pr. सिषो, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पित् or पियु *sweetheart*, Ap. पिच्चित्, Pr. पिच्चितो, Skr. पियकः.

88. इ with ई or ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. सूड्या *needle*, Pr. सूड्या, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई *parrot*, Pr. सुइया, Skr. शुकिका.

89. ई or इ with ए or ओ; see § 98.

90. ई or उ with अ; see § 97.

91. ई with any other vowel inserts य्; as E. H. धोया *daughter*,

Pr. धीशा (Vr. 4, 33); Skr. धीदा or दुहिता; E. H. सोया *Sítá*, Pr. सोशा, Skr. सीता (semitats.); E. H. पौयु *drink thou*, Ap. पित (see § 65), Pr. पिक, Skr. पिच; E. H. पीयै *he drinks*, Pr. पिच्छ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिक्ति; E. H. पीयोँ or पीयोँ *I drink*, Ap. पिच्छं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिच्छमि, Skr. पिक्तामि.

92. उ with आ, इ and ई remains in hiatus; as E. H. धूस्त्राँ *smoke*, Ap. धूक्तं (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमस्त्रा, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूझहैँ *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहहि॑ं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहंति, Skr. शोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूँ अर्थात् *earth*, Ap. भूचिंशा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिशा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूर्ड *needle*, Pr. सूदशा, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ with ए, ए, ओ and ओ becomes ऊवे, ऊवै, ऊवो, ऊवो; optionally; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूरे or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूरू or चूवे), Pr. चुध्य (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शोतन्ति; E. H. चूओँ or चूशीँ or चूवोँ or चूबोँ *I leak*, Ap. चुश्छं, Pr. चुश्मि, Skr. शोतामि.

94. ए or ओ with श, इ and उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए or ओ with a long vowel remain in hiatus; less usually व् is inserted after ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहिस, Skr. लप्यते (*लभिष्यन्ति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोए or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. बवड, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोश्छं or बोओँ or बोवोँ or बोबोँ *I sow*, Ap. बवडं, Pr. बवमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ए or ओ with any vowel insert य and व्; optionally; the insertion of य is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. मैयन् or भद्यन् कै (see § 77) of brothers, Pr. भाद्रशापा, Skr. भ्रातृकापापाम्; E. H. मैया or भद्या brother, Mg. भाद्रशाह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौशन् or नउशन् कै (see § 78) of barbers, Pr. नाविश्वापा, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौशा or नौवा or नउशा or नउवा *barber*, Mg. नाविश्वाह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नोई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहिर् or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यन्ति; E. H. नौशोँ *I bow*, Ap. नवडं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौऐँ or नौवैँ *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवन्ति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. *श before or after a long vowel is often elided; before; E. H. सुआरू *cook*, A. Mg. सुअशाले, Skr. सूपकाऽः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुलारल्न्, Skr. फुलतैलम्; after; E. H. सीरू or सीयरू *cold, damp*, Pr. सीयलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीरू or

पीयर yellow, Pr. पीयलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. चूर् or चूसर् hog, A. Mg. सूक्ल, Skr. शूक्रः; E. H. बोर् or योरा little (W. H. योडा), Pr. योश्त or योश्तुचं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयत् drinking, Mg. पिष्ठेत, Skr. पिण्डन्; E. H. बोश्त् sowing, Mg. बवंते, Skr. बवन्.

Note: पीयत्, बोश्त्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होत् *being*, देत् *giving*, लेत् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-अत्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवंते, लहंते, देते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ or ए and उ or ओ after a vowel often become य ya or य् y and व् va or व् v respectively; thus E. H. गयल् or गइल् gone (see § 77); E. H. धय् having put for धइ, Ap. धरि, Pr. धरिष्व, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् eaten (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाय् having found for पाइ, Ap. पाक्षि, Pr. पाक्षिष्व, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूय् having leaked for चूर् or चूरे, Pr. चुइष्व, Skr. श्रुतित्वा; E. H. होय् he is, Pr. होइ (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति; E. H. होय् having been for होइ or होए, Pr. हविष्व (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. मूत्राः; E. H. कोयर् or कोइर् cuckoo (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियर् cocoanut (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नारिकेलः; O. H. आयसु order (in *Tulśidás*), Ap. आएसु, Pr. आएसो, Skr. आदेशः; E. H. चवण् or चउय् fourth (see § 78); E. H. धाव् or धाउ wound (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँकू I go, Ap. जाँते, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

Exception. The suff. इ of 3^d pers. and उ of 2nd pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले he takes, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे he gives, Pr. देइ (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे take thou, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए and उए (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; and the expansion of final ए (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant ओ after ई and ऊ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेलिए, तेलिय or तेलीओ, तेली oilman.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सगल् *whole*, A. Mg. सगल्ते, Skr. सकलः; E. H. पर्विंदा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पर्विंश्चा, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. क्रिंपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 143) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पाती *letter*, Pr. पत्रिका, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माया *head*, Mg. मत्यए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. पिथो, Skr. पृथो; E. H. शत्रुधा, Skr. शत्रुधा; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत् *devoted*, Ap. *भक्तु, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जनन् *effort*, Skr. यन्. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbh. *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (ऽ or र् or ल् and ञ् or इ् or लह्) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ऽ), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. ऽ and र्) and the nasal (ऽ) may be vocalized (ऽ and ऽ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. ऽ, ल्, र्, ह्) and nasals (viz. म् and न्) and occasionally double consonants (viz. छ्, च्, त्, न्, ख्, घ्) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. त् and तः) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, etc.

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कर्पउए, E. H. कपरां; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कथिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कर्पटिका, Mg. कवटिश्च (cf. H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौटी, W. H. कोडी. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (प् or भ्) are softened to व् (H. C. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., व् is vocalized; e. g., Skr. प्राप्तः *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सोह् (for सउह्); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (क्, ग्) and palatals (च्, झ्) is substituted the euphonic त् (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., त् is vocalized; e. g., Skr. नगर्यम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नेर्; Skr. जन्मी *night*, Mg. लयणी, E. H. लेनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह् (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुरुष् *you make*, Mg. कलेष्य or कलेह्, E. H. करह्; Skr. पञ्चे, Ap. पञ्चसिंहं, E. H. पाहो (for पासो). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr., त् and व् are sometimes vocalized (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also प् (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and त् and व् only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H. extends the practice occasionally to र्, ल्, ह्, म्, न्, though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial \bar{q} is always hardened to $\bar{\tau}$; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial \bar{q} and $\bar{\tau}$ (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्यम्, E. H. कारूः; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पर्वतः. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change \bar{d} to $\bar{\lambda}$, but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve $\bar{\zeta}$ or change it to $\bar{\tau}$ but not to $\bar{\lambda}$.

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally, \bar{k} and \bar{n} were usually elided; exceptionally \bar{k} was changed to \bar{n} (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396); \bar{q} and $\bar{\tau}$ were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177); $\bar{\zeta}$ and $\bar{\xi}$ were never elided, but $\bar{\zeta}$ softened to $\bar{\tau}$ (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) $\bar{\tau}$ and $\bar{\zeta}$ were not elided, but $\bar{\tau}$ softened to $\bar{\zeta}$ (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) $\bar{\zeta}$ must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavati,^{*} indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally, \bar{q} and $\bar{\tau}$ are softened to $\bar{\tau}$ (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally, \bar{q} and $\bar{\tau}$ were, as a rule, reduced to $\bar{\tau}$ (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396); $\bar{\zeta}$ and $\bar{\xi}$ were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and $\bar{\xi}$ was always changed to $\bar{\tau}$, but $\bar{\zeta}$ left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally H. C. 1, 187) \bar{q} was changed to $\bar{\xi}$, and $\bar{\xi}$ optionally reduced to $\bar{\tau}$ (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally, \bar{q} was always changed to $\bar{\xi}$, and $\bar{\xi}$ optionally reduced to $\bar{\tau}$ (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of un-aspirates: exceptionally त्; regularly त्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words द्; regularly द्. Of aspirates: exceptionally थ्; regularly थ्, फ् and फृ; optionally व् and वृ. The unaspirates थ् and फ् are never present; in words like E. H. वचै *it rots*, अतै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (थ्, फ्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् becomes ग्; rarely; 1) original; thus E. H. कार्[ा] *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for *कववा), Mg. काश्चए); E. H. साग्[ा] *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. प्राकम्; E. H. सगर् *cart* (W. H. सगर्), A. Mg. साडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. प्राकट्यू; E. H. सगर् *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगन् *bird*, Ap. सगुण्, Skr. प्रकृतः; E. H. एग्यारह् *eleven*, Ap. *एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादशः; E. H. परगद् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) resultant; thus E. H. बिगत् or बेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. मगत् *devotee*, Skr. मक्तः; E. H. मगति *faith*, Skr. मक्तिः; E. H. मगताइ *devotion* (cf. § 220) = Skr. मक्ताता; E. H. रगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चकर् *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्रं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरी *she-goat*, Ap. बक्षिशा, Skr. बक्षिका.

Note: Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. रागो, Skr. एकः, Pr. आगारो, Skr. आकारः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gd., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gd.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् becomes त् or तृ; very rarely; always resultant, as E. H. निवारै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for *निवारै, Pr. निवृद्धै or निवृद्धे॒३, Skr. निर्वर्जयति; E. H. पेत् or पेत् *tree* for *पेट् (see § 148), Pr. पट्टी, Skr. पत्री (?).

104. त् becomes त् or तृ; as a rule; तृ is more usual; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपड़ा *cloths*, Mg. कप्पउए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवारा or केवाड़ा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाउए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. घै or घौ *he fashions*, Pr. घउ (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति; E. H. च्छर्द्ध bird (cf. § 55), Pr. चउइआ, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. च्छिणा; E. H. तोरै or तोरौ *he breaks*, Pr? तोउइ or तोडेइ, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H. नू or नृ *a kind of reed*, Mg. नउ (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नृः; E. H. पै or पौ *he falls*, Pr. पउ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H. पर्विवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पउवासा (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपन्; E. H. परोस्स *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पउवासे or पउवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापू or पापू *cake*, Mg. पप्पउ, Skr. पर्पटः; E. H. बारी or बाडी *garden*, Pr. बाडिआ, Skr. बाटिका; E. H. भू or भू *large boat*, Mg. भउ (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लरिका or लडिका *boy*, Mg. *लउडिक्कर from Skr. लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लडका; E. H. लै or लौ *he quarrels (makes uproar)*, Mg. लउइ, Skr. जटति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H. सै or सैं *it rots*, Pr. सउइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. शदति; generally in the E. H. pleonastic suffixes इ or रू, उ or रा, आइ or आरू, आग or आरा, Ap. Mg. ते, उए, अमउ, अमउए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus E. H. गोरू or गोरू *foot, leg*, Ap. गबु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमउ, Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. योरू or योरू *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg. योमउ, Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. ठोकरा or ठोकडा *small piece*, Ap. Mg. *ठोड़कउए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तेष्मः; E. H. चमरा or चमडा *leather*, Ap. Mg. चमउअं, Skr. चर्मः; E. H. बछरू or बछरू *calf*, Ap. बच्छउ, Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकरा or सैकडा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयङ्कउअं, Skr. प्रतकम्; E. H. जेठा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. जेठूए, Skr. त्येष्ठः; E. H. पछिकारू or पछिकारू or °वारा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छिकवशउ or °बबउए or पच्छिमब्रडे or °मञ्चउए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पक्षारी or पक्षाडी (scl. रस्ती) *hind-rope (for tying horses' hind-legs)*, Ap. पक्षमउआ, Skr. पश्चक०; E. H. श्वारी or श्वाडी *fore-rope*, Ap. श्वगश्विशा, Skr. श्वशक०, etc. — 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौरी or कौडी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C. 2, 36), Skr. कपटिका, etc.

105. इ becomes ल्; only original; very rarely; thus the E. H. pleonastic suffix ल् or ला, Ap. Mg. ते or उए (cf. H. C. 4, 429), e. g., E. H. परल् or °ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलउ or °उए, Skr. प॒ः; E. H. मोटल् *fat*, Ap. Mg. *मोटूउ or *मुटूउ, Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मउली *mother*, Ap. Mg. *माउडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. छिलोतरस्से or °सो, Ap. Mg. *इतुव्रस्यं or *इलुव्रस्यं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. *इतुव्रस्ति, Skr. इतुव्रप्रतम्.

Note: This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश sixteen, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. ताळकः tank, Ap. तलाड़ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तरात् or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नउम् a kind of reed, Pr. नउं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर् or नल् or नद्; Skr. नाडिका stalk, Pr. नाडिश्चा or नालिश्चा (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नाडी.

106. इ becomes न्; only original; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तडन् or तौन् that (lit. of that kind), Ap. तेवु (H. C. 4, 407) or *तेवडो, Pr. तेद्धो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन् which (lit. of which kind), Ap. जेवु (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. जेद्धो, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कौन् who (lit. of what kind), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवु (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवन्निय° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केद्धो, Skr. कौदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. युथडा or युथना mouth (of a horse, etc.) from योष् mouth.

107. त् becomes र् or रु; very rarely; always resultant; as E. H. सत्सठि or सत्सठि or सत्सठि sixty seven, Pr. सत्सटी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तष्ठिः.

108. द् becomes र्; very rarely; always original; thus गागरी waterpot, Pr. गागरिश्चा (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गद्धिका; E. H. सत्त्रू seventy, Pr. सत्तरी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for *सत्तदो, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °रह ten, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दशः; e. g., E. H. आरह twelve, Pr. आरह (H. C. 1, 219) or आरस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादशः.

Note: This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. द् becomes ल्; only original; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or इल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गेल् or गयल् gone (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् been (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् पुा, Mg. धसिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिश्चो Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or कैल् or कयल् *done*; Mg. *कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. आइल् or आयल् *eaten* (see § 82, exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविश), Skr. प्रापुः; E. H. आइल् or आयस् *come*, Mg. अविदे, Skr. आपुः; E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चरल् or चरिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. *सदं, Skr. प्रातम्.

Note: This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कटे, गटे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गडे, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. केलश्च (Sak. 37, 13) for *कलिश्च, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. इलिश्च for *इटिश्च, Skr. इदृप्राः (cf. Lss. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. पटीपूम्, E. H. पलीत् *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for *पलिंदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिल् or पलल् *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for *अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् becomes र्; as a rule; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नर्ले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. राय् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

Exceptions. E. H. लेजुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. *लंजुडिश्चा, Skr. रञ्जूः; E. H. लरै or लडै *he quarrels* (E. १. रेडै), Mg. लउइ, Skr. रटति (cf. लटति or लउति); but E. H. रारि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडो, Skr. राटिः; E. H. तालै or तारै *he throws*, Mg. *तालेइ or दालेइ, Skr. दायति (also दालयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवलेइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति (?); E. H. गलियावै or गरियावै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोत्तरै *one hundred and four*. Mg. चुलुन्नरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुरुष्मप्रतम्; E. H. सम्भालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, Mg. चत्तलीसा (Wb. Bl. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. ताला *branch*, Mg. उलाश्च (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दाङ्कम्.

111. ल् becomes न्; sometimes; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ल्ने or ल्नए; e. g., E. H. जामुन् *roseapple-tree*, A. Mg. *जम्मुल्ले (see § 18) or जम्मुल्ले, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. ऐतना *so many*, Mg. एक्सिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एक्सुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. द्यगतिकः; E. H. सेतना *so many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेनुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. तेतन् *as many*, Mg. तेन्निलए or तेनुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केन्निलए or केनुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or मूपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अपुलं or अपुलं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् or °यम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *अइसिले (cf. H. C. 4, 403, 2, 164). Wb. Bh. 437) or *अइसुले (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईद्राः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिले or *तैसुले, Skr. ताद्राः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिले or *तइसुले, Skr. याद्राः; E. H. कहसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कहिसिले or *कहसुले, Skr. कोद्राः; see also § 31.

Note: There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पांगल or लंगल, Skr. लङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. प् becomes न्; as a rule; see § 13; thus E. H. पानो (or *theth पाणो*) *water*, Mg. पाणिश्चं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ठ becomes ढ्; very rarely; only resultant; thus E. H. कोठु *leprosy* for *कोठु, Pr. कुट्ट (or कोट्ट cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोट्ट?), Skr. कृष्म्; E. H. रूठ्क् *angry*, Mg. लुट्टै (or लुट्ट?), Skr. उष्टः; E. H. अठतीस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अटतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

Note: This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ठ् has a tendency to change to ढ् in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ठ becomes ढ् or ई; as a rule; ढ् is more usual; thus 1) original; E. H. कमडा or कोँडा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मडा or महा *shed*, Mg. मठए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मडो *small temple*, Pr. मठचा, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पैँड *he reads*, Pr. पठ्ड, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीडा *stool*, Mg. पीढए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काँडे or काहै *he draws*, Pr. कठ्ड (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. *कृष्यति); E. H. बँडे *he encloses*, Pr. बेड्इ (Vr. 8, 40) or बेड्डै (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. बेष्टते or बेष्यति; E. H. बँडे *he grows*, Pr. बड्डै (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बँड्ह or बँह्द or बँह्दै (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. बड्डै, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूडा *old man*, Mg. बुड्डै (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. बृद्धकः; E. H. बूडी *old women*, Pr. बुड्डिचा (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. बृद्धिका; E. H. डेड् or देड् *one and a half*, Mg. दिबडे (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. बर्द्धितीयः

(*seq* § 416); E. H. अङ्गार् *two and one half*, Pr. अङ्गभद्रा, Skr. अङ्गतृतीया (*see* § 416); E. H. सारे *one half more*, Pr. सर्वः, Skr. सार्कः.

115. *ह* becomes ल्ह; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. कुलहारा *axe*, Mg. कुठालरे (*cf.* H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुठारकः; E. H. कुलहारी *small axe*, Mg. कुठलिश्चा, Skr. कुठारिका; E. H. कोलहू *mill (for making sugar or oil)*, Mg. कुठले, Skr. कुठः (*a post round which the mill stone moves*).

Note: E. H. दुलहा *bridegroom*, दुलही or दुलहिन् *bride* (*spelled* H. H. दुलहा, दुलिहन् *see* § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्हर, दुल्हिशा (*cf.* H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (*lit. difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उद्गोता, उद्गाठा (*as* Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालइ or निक्कालेइ, Skr. निष्कालयति (*of R. कल्*; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कालइ, Skr. निष्कर्षति (*as* Bs. I, 354). As to कोलहू, the Mg. कुठले might be कुठुले in Ap. Mg. (*cf.* vulgar B. कुठल् *axe* for Mg. कुठाले, *see* Bs. I, 270), and thence (*eliding ल्*) कुहुर, कुहू or कोलहू (*cf.* §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुठारुः, Mg. कुठलू *tree (post?)*, which might also produce कोलहू. An instance of this change in Pr. is श्वेतोल्हू^o for *श्वेतोलहू^o (H. C. 1, 200; *cf.* पल्हटइ and पल्हत्यइ H. C. 4, 200), Skr. अङ्गोठू^o.

bb) Reduction.

116. ख् and घ् become ह्; generally when original; as E. H. मुह् or मुँह् *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेहै *rain*, Mg. मेहे (*cf.* H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. पोहर् *father's family*, Pr. पितुहरं (H. C. 1, 134) for *पितुधरं, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नैहर् *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर् *idol temple*, Pr. *देवघरं, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for *रखै, Mg. लक्खइ, Skr. रक्षते (*pass.*); E. H. पाही^o *by the side of* for *पाखी^o, *see* § 74^c exc.; O. E. H. काहू^o or काहै^o *by the side of* for *काखू^o or *काखै^o, Ap. *कक्खहुं, Skr. कक्षे (*cf.* § 378, 3).

• *Exceptions.* Sometimes ख् remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. लिखल् *written*, not *लिहल्, Mg. लिहिदे (*cf.* H. C. 1, 187 लिहइ), to distinguish from E. H. लिहल् *taken for* *लहल्, Mg. लहिदे; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख pleasure (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख pain, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखी friend, etc.

Note: The change of original ख् and घ् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and घ्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्षिणणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् right, but दक्षिन् or दक्षिन् south; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख pain; Pr. दोहो or दिगो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दोर्धः long, E. H. deest.

117. क् becomes ह्; very rarely; only resultant; E. H. मही^० or माही^० amidst for *माको^०, Ap. Pr. मर्जलहि, Skr. मध्ये.

Note: Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant य् = ज्, as in Pr. शाहा for Skr. शाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. छ् becomes ह्; very rarely; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् first, Ap. Mg. *पठइल्ले, Mg. पठमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहार् or पहाड् mountain-range, Ap. Mg. *पठिश्चन्नडे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. spread out); E. H. पेहारा or पहाडा the multiplication-table, Ap. Mg. *पठिश्चन्नडए, Skr. प्रथितकः (with pleon. उक्, see § 217); the ह् is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पञ्च read, Mg. पठिश्चए, W. H. पञ्चौ, Ap. पठिश्चउ.

Note: The root पथ् or प्रथ् shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुढवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी earth, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिं or पुं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहलं, Skr. पूयुलम् full (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पथ०. The only other instances of the change of छ् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिहरो, Skr. पिठः pot (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो axe, Pr. कुडारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for *कडावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कडृऽ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल०, S. पेहेरो^०, see § 401.

119. घ् becomes ह्; always when original; as E. H. कहै he speaks, Mg. कहेदि or कघेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साहू a title of merchants, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर् *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिः; E. H. दहो *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोहूँ *lizard*, *aligator*, Pr. गोही, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार् or कौहार् *porter*, Mg. संधार्ले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or *कंधधार्ले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. संधकाजः.

120. भु becomes व्; always when original; as E. H. गुहै *he strings*, Pr. गुहइ or गुमझ् (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिशा (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. प्राफिका; E. H. सोहै^{it looks well} *Pr. सोहइ* (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. प्रोभते; E. H. गहिर् *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गमीजः; E. H. आहीर् *herdsman*, Mg. आहीले, Skr. आमीजः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुत्राहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुत्राहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for *मुत्रापलं, Skr. मुक्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. *कंटश्वहले, Skr. कपटकफलः; E. H. सुहार् *good fortune*, Pr. सुहार्ण (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुहार् or कौहार् *potter*, Mg. कुम्भाले or कुम्भाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकाजः; E. H. सम्भालै or सभालै *he supports*, Mg. सर्भालेऽ, Skr. सम्भाजयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for *सग्हा or *सग्मा, Mg. सगळभए, Skr. सग्मकः; also optionally, as E. H. जीहू or जीभ् *tongue*, Pr. जीहा or जिथा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिठ्हा.

Note: Words with original भु are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभात् *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. यु becomes इ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) या *ya* to इ, as E. H. बिगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः (semitats.); 2) अया *aya* to ऐ or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सयं, Skr. प्रतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर् or नेर् *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नगरम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. लयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. ज्वनी; E. H. पैत्ता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पाटान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पद्धेत् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छियते or पच्छियते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. व् becomes ञ and combines with the adjacent vowels; thus 1) व् *va* to ञ, as E. H. सित् or सिवं *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देत् or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेत् or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) वि *vi* to ञ, as E. H. नीई *he will bow* for *नउई, Pr. नविहिर् or नमिहिर् (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौवो० or होओ० *I am* for *हउओ०, Ap. हविअउं, Pr. हविअ म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौशा or नउशा *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or *जनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *जन्मोश्विश्च (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) व्रव् *ava* optionally to चौ; as E. H. चौर् or चउर् *and*, Mg. चबलं, Skr. चप्तम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिना (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सप्तिका; E. H. भौँरा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवैरुउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरः; E. H. पठौतो० or पठउतो० *if I send*, Ap. *पटुवंतउं, Pr. पटुवंतःम्हि or पटुवंतःम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्यापथन्मस्मि; sometimes to ओ; as E. H. सो०ह् *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोँका *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to उ; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवैलङ् or *भमलेऽ, Skr. भ्रमयति; 4) इव् *iva* to ओ; as E. H. बहिनोई, see § 49; or to उ, as E. H. पहूत् *back-yard*, Ap. पञ्चिकवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. शगूषा or शगुषा *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. *शगिकवैश्चए, Skr. शग्निमगकः; 5) इवा or इवे to ओ; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पस्तिकेसइ, Skr. परिवेषयति; 6) आव् *ava* optionally to ओ; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

Note: It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. ष् is in Pr. व् (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. ञ; and Skr. ष् in Ap. Pr. ष् or वै (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. तै or ञ. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. ल्लोन् *salt*; Pr. शोज्ज्ञाशो or उज्ज्ञाशो, Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. शोका *magician*; Ap. पठउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for *पठ्वैं, Pr. पठमि or पठामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पठौ० or पठो० *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. व् before इ (or ई) is elided; as a rule (cf. § 33); only original; thus E. H. एकइस् twenty one (W. H. एकीस्), A. Mg. एक्कवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् twenty two, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् twenty three, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचौस् twenty five for *पचइस्, A. Mg. *पंचवीसं or ३सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् twenty seven, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् twenty eight, A. Mg. अट्टावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. ऊनइस् nineteen (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. ऊनवीसा or एकूणवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. ऊनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् been, पाइल् found, आइल् come, see § 109; E. H. पठइबोँ or पठैबोँ I shall send, Ap. *पट्टविबूड़ि or *पट्टाविबूड़ि, Pr. पट्टाविश्वरूप्महि, Skr. प्रस्थापितव्योऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई̄ he shall send, Pr. पट्टाविहिइ, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलोँ or पठैलोँ I have sent, Mg. पट्टाविदृप्महि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीश् (S. एकीह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस्, G. बावीश्, S. बावीह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीश्, S. ट्रेवीह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीश्, S. पंजवीह or पंजीह, etc.

124. र (= Mg. ल्) before इ is elided; sometimes; only original; thus E. H. कर्̄ having done for *कइ, O. H. कर्ति, Mg. कलिन्न (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. कर्तिन् (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धर्̄ having placed for *धइ, O. H. धर्ति, Mg. धलिन्न, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै suffix of genitive for *कइ, O. H. कर्ति, Mg. *कलिन्न or *कलिन्, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै upon, Ap. Mg. पलि, Mg. पले, Skr. पजे; E. H. पै however, Mg. पलि or पले, Skr. पञ्चम्; E. H. धइल् placed and कइल् done, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् such (see § 111), Ap. Mg. *अइसिले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एलिस् or Mh. एरिस् (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदप्तः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् of what kind, Ap. Mg. *कइसिले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केलिस् or Mh. केरिस् (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कौटुम्;

E. H. तद्दसन् or तैसन् of *this kind*, Ap. Mg. *तद्विल्लु, A. Mg. तालिसँ or तारिसँ (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृशँ; E. H. तद्दसन् or तैसन् of *which kind*, Ap. Mg. तद्विल्लु, A. Mg. जासिसँ or जारिसँ (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. सा like, A. Mg. सलिल्लए or सरिश्चदु Skr. सदृशकः (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in अद्दलो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. अलिकर्दः.

125. ल् after उ is elided; rarely; only original; thus E. H. पुश्चाल् *straw*, Pr. *पुलाली, Skr. पलाली (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पाश्चाली, Skr. पाटपाली *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. केंचुवा or केंचंवा *earth-worm*, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोलहू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह् before or after इ is elided; sometimes; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. इ (for *इई), Pr. इही or इहिह, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिह (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसी or हसी (§ 67) *he will laugh*, Pr. हसिहिह (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. एँ (for *अई) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pl. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. काएँ *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. एँ or एँ or इँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाइँ or पाइँ *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पञ्चे; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्यं; e. g., E. H. मोठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्टहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य; E. H. इँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम्, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसोँ *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम्, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेहु (H. C. 4, 238) for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. ले[॒] *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for *लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. थिफै or बिहफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहफर्द् (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः; see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (करु) of *me*, Ap. Pr. महु (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., शो or शो suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

अहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. अथः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगौ or माँगी you ask, Ap. मागु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयथः; also W. Gd. शौँ or शोँ or शौ or शै suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. शहुं or शहं or शहिं, Skr. शनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरौँ, H. H. नरोँ, S. नरौँ or नरैँ men, Ap. पारुं उर् पारुं or पारहिं, Skr. नराणाम्; S. तँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. शहु (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. शम् (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. शामः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलौँ we go (Tr. 314), Ap. चलुं, Pr. चलम्, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिआहैं (H. C. 4, 300) for *सरिहाहैं, Skr. सदृशाणाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म before इ and before or after इ is optionally elided; often; generally with anunásika; thus E. H. गोसार्दूँ or गोसामी monk, Ap. गोसामिति, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईँ or सामी master, Ap. सामिति (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुञ्चैर् or कुञ्चर् or कुवर् prince, Ap. Pr. कुवर्ण् or कुमर् (cf. H. C. 4, 397, 1, 67), Skr. कुमारः; E. H. कुञ्चौर् or कुवार् or कुमार् youth, prince, see p. 29; E. H. कुञ्चारी or कुवारी or कुमारी virgin, princess, Ap. कुवार्णिशा or कुमारिशा, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. भूर्दूँ or भूमी, Pr. भूमिशा, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. धूआँ or धूबैं smoke, Ap. धूवैउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोईँ or कोई waterlily or jackfruit, Pr. कुमुदम् (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोहैँ or सोहीँ in front of, Ap. Pr. समुहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहमि, Skr. समुखे; E. H. रूँ hair of the body, Mg. लोमे, Skr. ग्रोम; E. H. रोयौँ or रोबौँ hair of the body, Mg. लोमश्च, Skr. ग्रोमकम्. Rarely without anunásika; as E. H. गडल् or गैल् gone, see § 77.

Note: Four instances of the elision of म before इ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. जँपा, Skr. यम्ना Jamnā; Pr. चाउँता, Skr. चामुषता Durga; Pr. काउँचो, Skr. कामुकः a certain plant; Pr. शपिउतर्यं, Skr. शतिमुक्तकम् a certain shrub. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. ज़म्ना, not tadbh. *जौन्; perhaps to distinguish from जौन् foreigner, Pr. ज़वपारो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. जौनपुर Jaunpur, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म before इ might become ब् by H. C. 4, 397; and such ब् too, would be elided, in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् before or after इ or before उ; with or without *anunasika*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाँ or ठां or ठाँ॒ or ठाव् place, *residence*, Ap. ठात् (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाप् (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठापं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. थौ॒ from for *थाई (N. थायि), Ap. थायि, Pr. थापो (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also तै॒, तई॒, ताई॒; E. H. वौसुरी flute, Pr. वंसपालिश्चा, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct रय for O. H. गिन, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाँ॒, ठां॒; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठाम्, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. ष् and व् become ज् and ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कारत् work, Pr. *कारित्तं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?); E. H. अचारत् teacher, A. Mg. *शाचारित्तं, Skr. शाचार्यः (or semitats.?); E. H. अचरत् wonderful, Pr. अच्छरित्तं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चव्विस् twenty four, Pr. चउब्रौसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. इबिस् or इब्बिस् twenty six, A. Mg. इब्रौसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. एड्विंशतिः; E. H. परवत् mountain, Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् eastern, Pr. पुरुबूं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. घ् or ह् become ग् or झ् or र्; in E. H. घै॑ or गै॑ he fashions, Pr. घउइ or गढ़इ (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगरै or बिगोै it is spoilt, destroyed, Pr. बिगठइ or बिघउइ, Skr. बिघटते; also ख् or फ् becomes ख् or प्; as E. H. पर्सै he touches, Pr. फरिसइ (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अबरक् talc, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् or ग्, ह्, प् and ब् become optionally ख्, छ्, फ् and भ् respectively; in E. H. परघट् or परगट् manifest (see § 102); E. H. पहिलौठा or पहिलौटा firstborn, Mg. *पहमिलृउटृए (see § 118), Skr. पथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् again, Ap. पुण् (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सख् or सभ् all, Mg. सख्लै, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एकाहन् *seventy one* for एकाहन्तर्; E. H. पचाहन् *seventy five* for पचाहन्तर्; E. H. सप्ताहन् *seventy seven* for सप्ताहन्तर्; E. H. अठाहन् *seventy eight* for अठाहन्तर्.

132. *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अब्राख् or अब्रक् *talc*, Skr. अभ्रकम् (*semitarts.*); E. H. हमार् or हमारा *our* (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फ़त्ता *father's sister* for *पितृहा, Pr. पितृच्छा or पितृसिंधा (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृष्णुसा; also E. H. फुफी; E. H. फुप् *flower*, Pr. पुष्कं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उत्तारै or उत्तारै *he plucks up* for *उक्तारै, Pr. उक्त्रुद्दृ (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निपारे or निप्राहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निवाहेद्, Skr. निर्वाहयति; E. H. म्हैस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

Note: There are instances in Pr.; as बहिपी or मद्यपी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. बहिनि; Pr. गढ़ or घउद् *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढ़ or गाढ़ or गड़ or गडै (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पाँच् or पंदराह् *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for *इजहो; उको *that* for *उजहो (§ 438, 4); खँ from for *कहाँ, खे *to* for *कहे (§ 375); चालक्षारो *forty* for *चालीहारो; पांह् or पान्ह् जो *own* for *पानह जो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for *परिहै, Mg. *पलिहर् or *पलिधर् or *पलिधेद् (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. परिदधति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुचद् (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापत्यते (Mg. पर्यावचद्); also कीच् or कीचर् and चोक् or चोकर् *mud* (Skr. चिक्किद्); नखलौ and लखलौ *Lucknow*; बिराम् and बिमार् *sick* (*persian بیمار*); also W. H. रहस् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै *he sinks*, Pr. बुट्टद् (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. ब्रुत्ति (i. e. मज्जाति).

Note: Also in Pr.; as बाणासी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. बाराणसी, E. H. बनास् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अचलपुरम्, E. H. अलवर् (for *अलचउरं) *Alwar*; Pr. मराहद् (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मरहद् or मराठ् *Marāthā*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ह्रदः, E. H. दह् *deep water*; Pr. हलिश्चारो or हरिश्चालो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियार् *green*; Pr. हलुशं (for हलुकं) or लहुशं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलक्, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and म्, in E. H. निनानबे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवृई, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिक्कानवट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कापाश्मदृ, Skr. चिक्कापांकमृतिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुहुमि *earth*, Pr. पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पश्ची; E. H. पित्थमी *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (*semitate*); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशारिकः.

Note: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दण, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °रिंसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or दिंशं (for रिंहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृपं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तर्. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिभि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how* for *केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवु; G. चुमालोष् *forty four* = E. H. चौबालिस्; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. द् in E. H. पन्द्रह् *fifteen*, Pr. पस्त्रह् (H. C. 2, 43) or पन्नरस (Wb. Bh. 426. II. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदशः; again र् in E. H. करोर् or करोरु *ten millions*, Ap. कोठि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडि (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. *सापु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. शापः (*semitate*); again श् in E. H. ऐयारह्, Pr. *ऐगाह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादशः; E. H. ऐक्याबन् *fifty one*, Pr. *एक्काबसं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. *एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानबे *ninety one*, Pr. *एक्काणवृई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निनानबे or निनानबे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

Note: E. H. has a word कोरि or कोडि, but it means *score*, *twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐयू and ऐय् stand for ऐयू° and ऐक्क्य, Skr. एकक०. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as ब्रासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*.

• **८) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.**

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पञ्चा *ripe*, A. Mg. पञ्चार्, Skr. पञ्चकः; E. H. पत्थर् *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. प्रस्तुः; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निकम्मए, Skr. निकर्मकः; E. H. कान्हू *krishna*, Mg. कणहै, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. बिस्त्रास् *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *householder*, Skr. गृहस्यः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो॑ *I walked*, Ap. *चलिष्टऽ, Pr. चलिष्टऽहि॒, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि॑, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिश्चा, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आक्ता॑; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. ब्रिन्ती॑ *petition for* ब्रिनती॑, Pr. विस्तिव्या॑, Skr. विज्ञाप्तिका॑; E. H. दुल्हा॑ *bridegroom* for दुल्हा॑, Mg. दुल्हए॑, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. ब्रित्ता॑ *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. बोसवै॑, or बोसमए॑, Skr. विंशत्यकः; E. H. गथा॑ *ass* for गद्धा॑, Mg. गद्धए॑, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. ब्रेड्ला॑ *hog* for वर्हेला॑, Ap. Mg. *वर्हिल्लए॑, Skr. वर्हाहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *theth* (e. g., in the numerals ऐषत्तर् *seventy one*, सयत्तर् *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak¹), homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogeneous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as ङ्कू, त्तू, त्त्वू, म्मू, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as ङ्नू, त्नू, त्तू, etc.) or of हू following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

न्हः, न्हू, ल्हू, ह्व, छ्व = र्); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the tadbh. and tats., are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. स्लाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. प्राप्ति, E. H. सराइ *praise*; Pr. सिरि (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वाराद्; E. H. दुवार् *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईस्तो or इस्तो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईस्त् *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for *वस्ता; Skr. वर्ष, E. H. °वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राइ or रजो (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. एञ्चणं (Vr. 3, 60) for एत्यणं, Skr. एत्यम्, E. H. रेत्नम् *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conj., tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvára preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सङ्का, Skr. सन्धा, E. H. सँक् *evening*), or of र् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. ब्रह्मणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. ब्रामन् *brahmañ*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्हत्यद् (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, E. H. पलथै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. पिति or पितुं, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyāsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186^o.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ is interpolated; often; E. H. इपली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिश्चा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. *अमिलिश्चा (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अमिक्षा; E. H. सुदरसन् *beautiful*, A. Mg. मुद्रिसपे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन् *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दर्शिणी, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बरहौ *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. वर्हिकः; E. H. परामर्स् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामर्त्ति (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्जः; E. H. सुकर् or सुकल् *white*, Pr. सुकिलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्रम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अमिरां (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आमृकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अमिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. सुरब् *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरुक्ले (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरदा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्धा (semitats.); E. H. अचरत् *wonderful, कारज् work, अचारज् teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बरहई or बहई or बडई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. ब्रमहन् or ब्रामन् brāhmaṇ, Mg. व्रमणो (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; F. H. कनहैया or कन्हैया Krishna, Mg. कपहए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णः; E. H. सहस्र् *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहस्रं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चक्र *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. परबत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरण *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. जन्म *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रतन् *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जनन् *effort*, Skr. यतः; E. H. बिगत् *individual, रगत् blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग०), भगत् *devotee, भगति faith, भगताई* *devotedness, मुगति salvation*, see § 102; E. H. अरकि *but*, Pers. अल्कि (الملا).

139. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. अग्नि or अग्नि or आगि fire, Pr. अग्निपो (Ls. 244) or आगपो (H. C. 1, 102) or आगी (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिति or मित्र् a brāhmaṇ family-name, A. Mg. *मित्रिरे (but मीते mixed Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मित्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल् *come, पाइल् or पावल् attained*, see § 109; E. H. बिरिक् *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सहन् *sign*, see § 141.

Note: The E. H. conjunct ग्या gya, O. H. गिन gina is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. राजी, O. H. रामिनी, Skr. राजी; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. ञ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. पुरञ्च, W. H. पुरञ्च, Pr. पुरञ्च (Ls. 183) or पुरञ्चं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरञ्चं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुरग् top, point, but श्रीरङ्ग् horn and संग् spear, Pr. सिंग् or संग् (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones; thus क् becomes ग् (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. भिगत्, रगत्, भगत्, etc.; see § 138; त् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सदन् or सेन् sign, Pr. *सदपा or *सेतिपा, Skr. सज्जा, cf. Pr. राइपा (H. C. 3, 51) for *राजिपा, Ps. Pr. राचिबा (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. राजा; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अद्गलोँ or आयोँ I came, Mg. आविद्गम्हि or आविअद्गम्हि, Skr. श्राद्गोऽस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पद्गलोँ or पायोँ I obtained, Mg. पाविद्गम्हि or पाविअद्गम्हि, Skr. प्राप्तोऽस्मि; न् is elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct ग्य॑ for O. H. गिन॑, see § 139, note.

Note: The participial examples, as अद्गलोँ, पायोँ, etc. and Pr. तविअओ (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तप॑, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a connecting (suff. इ + न), not a dissolving vowel.

142. *Affinities.* Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरसन् for Pr. दरिसप॑; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंग् (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शारङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग् bow; Pr. वरिसं, इरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गर्हिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली abuse = A. Mg. *गर्हिष्मा or *गर्हिष्मा, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गर्हियाँ or गलियाँ he abuses for *गर्हिहाँ, A. Mg. *गलिहावद् or Pr. *गरिहावद्, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रथां or रथां *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for *रथां, Skr. रथू, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रथ् or रेन् *night*; Pr. वद्धं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for *वद्धिरं, Skr. वद्धम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from वैर् *enmity*, Pr. वद्धं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैद्धम्; but E. H. वद्धू (semitats.); Pr. सुद्धलं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुक्लिं), Skr. शुक्रम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविद्धो *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for *तविद्धो, Skr. तप्तः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. तत्तो; Pr. पत्तं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for *पद्मं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. रात्रिपा *by a king* for *रात्रिपां (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in आपी *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्लिं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्रम्, E. H. सुक्लू; Pr. पुरुञ्चं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरुञ्चं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरुञ्च or पुरुञ्च¹⁾; 4) *reduction of aspirate* in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for *सुखुमं, Skr. सूखम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सकै he can, Pr. सङ्क्लइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. प्रक्लोति; E. H. सूका or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुखाए or खुक्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. बाघ् *tiger*, Mg. बाघे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पच्छ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माछो *fly*, Pr. मच्छन्ना (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मच्छिकाः; ज् in E. H. आज्ञा *to-day*, Pr. अज्ञ (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. बृहै *he understands*, Pr. बुरुणइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; द् in E. H. तृै *it breaks*, Pr. तुरुइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुयन्ति; E. H. पीठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्ठः; त् in E. H. कोटो or कोरी, see § 104; E. H. बौढै *it grows*, see § 114; त् in E. H. बात् *event, word*, Pr. बन्ना (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. वास्त्वा; E. H. हात् *hand*, A. Mg. हन्त्ये, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गदहा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूध् *milk*, Pr. दुङ्कं (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुधम्; प् in E. H. क्षप्य or क्षै *a kind of verse*, Mg. क्षप्ये (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. षट्पदः; E. H. बाफ् *steam*, Mg. बफे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. बाप्तः; ब् or व् in E. H.*

1) सुक्लिं and पुरुञ्च seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has व् for वै, not for वै (cf. § 129).

सब् *all*, A. Mg. सबे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. संबः; E. H. ज्ञेभु *tongue*, Pr. जिंभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिङ्गा; इ in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पलङ्किशा (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किका or पल्यङ्किका; ब् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. *पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. एषाप्रत्; ए in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सष्टा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. करहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58). Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; ए in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पलै *he turns over*, Pr. पल्लदृइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्त्यति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्ते or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पूषयः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but for* अल्कि, Pers. اکلی; E. H. बाटे *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واطي (?).

Exception. Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्षा or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर् or पाथर् *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्रा or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्रश्चं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच् or साँच् *true, उच्* or ऊच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. ब्रच्छा or ब्रैशा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बछा or बचा *young*, Mg. बच्छए (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. ब्रत्सकः; E. H. पटा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पटए, Skr. पटकी; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिर् or गोध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पंक् (i. e. पङ्क् § 13) or पाँक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided; only य्, व् and optionally इ; thus य् in E. H. पाधि *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अवध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अवोधा; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for *पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोजन् *necessity* for *पर्योजन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for *पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूमै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. जामुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुक्तै *he understands*, Mg. सम्बुद्धै, Skr. सम्बुद्धयते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिर्यौ *earth* (also पिर्यमो see § 132), Skr. पृष्ठो (semitats.). Again इ in बामन् or*

ब्राह्मन् or ब्रमहन् *Brahman*, कान् or कान्हूः *krishna* (e. g., in कानपुर *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सूनूः *daughter-in-law* for *सुनूः, Pr. *सुषुप्तुआ or *सोषुप्तुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47; H. C. 1, 261), Skr. सृषा (or *सृषुका; cf. Pr. मातुआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समालै or सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथै *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोलूः or कोलहूः *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for *गाल्है, see § 142.

Exception. Rarely त् is elided before ह्; as E. H. जोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. जोएहूः (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. *त्योत्सृयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus त् as a rule becomes त् or त्; e. g., in E. H. कौरी or कोरी *courier*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes र् (§ 110) as in E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; प् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *car*. Mg. कर्ण, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, सूनूः see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes त् or त्, as in E. H. बैठै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes व् (§ 129), as in E. H. सत्र् *all*, sec § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चक्रो or चक्री *wheel*, Pr. चक्रिआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लान् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्टो, Skr. षट्टिः; E. H. रात् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्यिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अठए (cf. H. C. 2, 41). Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. बप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. बप्ता; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्मे, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

Exception 1. Sometimes त् and त् preceded by a nasalized vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँडै *he shaves*, मोँठा *stool*, see § 149. *

Exception 2. Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परकै or परखै *he tests*, see § 58; ध् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महग्ये (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्धः; ध् in E. H. जाँदा or काँधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. लंधए (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; ह् in E. H. अचरत् *wonderful* for *अक्रत्, see § 129; E. H. बचा or बछा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावै or पक्षतावै *he repents*, Pr. पच्छत्रावइ, Skr. पश्चात्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूँङ्गे or मूँङ्गे *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहै or छाहै *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); दृ in E. H. अर्तिस् or अर्तिस् or अर्डितिस् *thirty eight* see § 113; E. H. अरुतालिस् or अरुतालिस् or अरुतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अरुप्रवालोंस (or अउयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. अडसठि or अ॒सठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अ॒सठौ, Skr. अष्टषष्ठिः; हृ in E. H. बडा *great for *बङ्गा*, Mg. बडै (or बढ़ै Vr. 1, 27), Skr. बृद्धकः; E. H. बेडै *enclosure for *बेड़ा*, Mg. बेडै (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. बेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गैडै *he fashions, gilds* or गिरै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this dispiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्कं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पल्लट्टै (H. C. 4, 200 for *पल्लट्टै) or पल्हन्यै *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. किंचुशो (H. C. 2, 16) or किंकुशो (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिंकू or बोकू, M. बिंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्टो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाथू (§ 143); M. हातो *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हायो (§ 145); M. साँत् *evening*, B., O., E. H. सांक् (§ 149, 1); M. साँदू *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेँधू, see § 57; M., B., O. सोडी *ladder*, E. H. सोडो, Pr. *सिड्डो, Skr. श्रेधी (?); M., B. साडे $2\frac{1}{2}$; M. दोड, B. देड $1\frac{1}{2}$; B. आटत्रिश्, M. अठतीस् or अठतीस् 38; B. आटचल्लिश् 48; M. बडा *great, banya enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्ट, स्त, श्व for दृ, स्य and च्छ (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोष्टागालं, Skr. कोष्टागारम्; Mg. उवस्तदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुश्चदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short; sometimes; thus always in E. H. अन् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अन्ते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्तः); e. g., E. H. होन् *being*, Mg. होते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. मवन्; E. H. करन् *doing*, Mg. कलते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचोस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. *पंचपन्नं, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गमिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गमिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, क्षपण्, सञ्च, पालकी,*

पलठै, सच्, see § 143; E. H. समुक्ते, पलथै, see § 144; E. H. ब्रैड़, see § 114; always in the antepenultimate (cf. § 25); thus E. H. आम्, but अमरा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दूबरा, but दुबरा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उतरै *he descends*, Mg. उत्तराः, Skr. उत्तरति; E. H. गदहा, पलटै, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पलथै, see § 144; and others.

Note: Similarly M. has अन् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अन्ति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चलत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलन्ति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच् in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवोस्, B. पंचिष्ठा, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule; thus अ in E. H. आठ् eight, Pr. अट्, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी queen, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् with, Pr. सर्व, Skr. संस्यम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीख् or भीष् *alms*, Pr. भिक्षा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिञ्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. शेष् or शेख् *bear*, Pr. शिष्ठो or शिक्षो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. शक्षः; E. H. दीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सोय् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सिंत्यं (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. शिंक्यम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिसि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुञ्ज (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. ऊन् *wool*, Pr. ऊसा, Skr. ऊर्णा; E. H. मूढू *fist*, Pr. मुद्धो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्ठिः; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्रे, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ए in E. H. सेत्रू *bedding*, Pr. सेत्ता (see § 6), Skr. प्रथा; E. H. पेत् *lump*, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐँच्चा *crooked*, Pr. *ऐँच्चं, Skr. अच्छितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐँक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोछ् *hip*, Mg. *पोट्टू, Skr. प्रोष्टः; E. H. बोलै *he says*, Pr. बोल्लाइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. बद्धति; E. H. पोशो *book*, Pr. पोत्तिमा (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.*

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely; thus अ in E. H. लेन्हर् or लेन्हरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेँध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेढ् *tree*, see § 103; E. H. ब्रैंगन् *egg-plant*, Mg. बंगापे, Skr. बङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एजी *heel*, Pr. ?, Skr. अंहिः; E. H. ऐँच्चा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. कोकरा or कोकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. कोँचुरो or कोँचुली *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिमा (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कम्बुलिका; again E. H. पोँझ् or मौँझ् *moustache*,*

चोँच् *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मजेला *middle*, A. Mg. मदिल्लए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. कोँचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. छद् *hole*, Pr. छिद् (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. छिद्रम्; E. H. सेम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कंपै *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्तिः; E. H. कोऽल् *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोऽब् *belly*, Pr. कुक्को, Skr. कुञ्जिः; E. H. सोँठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शृणिठः.

Note: The change of ऋ to ए or ओ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर् *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. अहेस् *thou art*, O. H. अहसि is formed.

149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized;* 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. नाँव् *leg*, Pr. नंदा, Skr. नन्दा; E. H. बाँक् *barren woman*, Pr. बंका, Skr. बन्धा; E. H. साँक् *evening*, Pr. संका (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्धा; E. H. चाँद् *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डाँडी *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot*, Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाष्टकः; E. H. काँपै *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again इ in E. H. मोँडै *he rubs*, Pr. मिंज़, Skr. मूञ्जति; E. H. सोँचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again ऊ in E. H. सूँड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शृण्डा; E. H. मूँड *he shaves*, Pr. मुंड़ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुप्तति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, दैँचा, ब्रेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँक्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि *eye*, see § 43; E. H. नाँगै *he requests*, Pr. नाग़ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. नार्णयति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. *अच्ची, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्च (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्ये, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँल् or ईल् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्कू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँट् or ईल् *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भोँट् or भोत् *wall*, Pr. भित्ती, Skr. भित्रिः; E. H. नोँदू or नोदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again ऊ in E. H. ऊँख् or ऊख् *sugarcane*, Pr. *उक्कू or उच्छ् (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुङ्गः (masc.); E. H. ऊँच् *high*, Pr. ऊचं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. ऊचम्; E. H. ऊँद् *camel*, Pr. ऊदो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. ऊषः. Again ए

in E. H. केंकरा or केकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again शो in E. H. होँठ् or होठ् *lip*, A. Mg. शोऽे (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. शोऽः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भूक्तुम् *boiled rice*, Pr. भत् (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्तु *seven*, Pr. सत्र (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. II., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सत्र; Skr. अष्टु *eight*, Pr. अट् (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आठ्, S. अठ, P. अट्; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्नी (H. C. 2, 79), E. II., etc. राति or रात्, P. रत्न, S. रन्ति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is ए (or औ or उ); e. g., Pr. लास्तं (H. C. 2, 92) for *लस्सं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, 'E. II. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर् *lord*; Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसर् (I.s. 320), Skr. बिश्वत् or बिंशति; E. H. बीस् *twenty*; Pr. सोङ्कं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. प्रोर्जम्, E. H. सोइस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. *वास् *rain* (in वैपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा command for *ब्रह्मा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिघां *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. बेल् or विल्, Skr. विल्वत्, E. II. बेल् *wood-apple*; Pr. पोखरो, Skr. पुञ्चरः, E. H. पोखर् *pond*; Pr. पोत्यओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोया; Pr. मोगरो, Skr. मुञ्चरः, E. H. मोगर् *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is disaspirated, see § 145, exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क् is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चोधरी *headman*, chief for *चक्र० (§ 69), *चक्र०, A. Mg. चक्रधरिए, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. discus-holder; from चक्र० + क्).

152. च् is elided; rarely; in E. H. चौबालिस् or चउआलिस् forty four (B. चोगालिश्च), A. Mg. चोगालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for *Pr. *चउआलीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on च = श), Skr. चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. क्षियालिस् forty six (cf. § 55), Pr. *क्ष्वचत्वालीसा, Skr. षष्ठ्यचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. तेँतालिस् (O. तेयालिश्च), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for *तेचत्वालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वारिंशत्.

Note: In composition the र् of चतुर् and प् (or ट्) of षष्ठ् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + हश्च) or चउवारे (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + वार्); again क्षपओ (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद्) or क्षमुहो or क्षमूँ (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), क्षगुणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + गुण) or चउबीं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर् + बिंशति), चउमुहु (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर् + मुख); again क्षहत्रि (क्ष + हत्रि for षट् + सप्तति) or क्षदिति (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचत्रं or (eliding च, see § 101) चउषत्रं; चउत्रं or क्षउत्रं; and similarly तिचत्रं or तिषत्रं (Skr. त्रिचत्वारिंशत्).

153. त् is elided; sometimes; in E. H. शाउ and शान् suff. of *Abstract nouns* for Ap. Pr. अश्वत् or अश्वण्, Pr. अश्वं or अश्वणं or अश्वन् or अश्वणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनं; see § 227; E. H. चारि four for *चत्रारि, A. Mg. चत्वारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् forty, see § 110. exc.; E. H. चयालिस् forty two, A. Mg. वायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for *वाश्वत्वालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. चबालिस् or चौबालिस् or चउआलिस् forty four (cf. § 26) and E. H. क्षियालिस् forty six, see § 152; E. H. सैँतिस् thirty seven (O. सडँतिश्च) for सयैं or सच्चैं, A. Mg. सत्रतोसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैँतालिस् forty seven for सयैं or सच्चैं, A. Mg. *सत्रश्चत्वालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. रोञ्च्ब् or रोइब् to weep, Pr. रोइबुं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 55 or रोइश्वं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइबुं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियै friend (a respectful address), Mg. मिश्व or मिश्व (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई wet-nurse, Pr. धाइश्चा or *धातिश्चा or धतिश्चा (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई foster-mother, wet-nurse, Pr. *द्रातिश्चा 'or दत्तिश्चा, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाऊ

appellation of a father or elder brother (lit. giver of sustenance), Mg. *दातुर् or *दत्तुर् (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई brother, Mg. *भातिए or *भन्निए, and E. H. माई mother, Pr. *मातिशा or *मन्निशा, see § 63; E. H. आय he is for *आइ, Pr. वत्तइ, Skr. वर्तते.

154. पू is elided; very rarely; in E. H. चउआ or चउण fourfooted, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौमन or चउअन fifty four (M. चौपन्), Mg. *चउपन् or *चउप्पन् (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाप्रात्.

155. बू is elided; rarely; optionally in E. H. ऐ suffix of the oblique infinitive, for *अए or *इए for *अबै or *इबै, Ap. *इबैहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअबूस्त, Skr. इत्यव्यय; e. g., E. H. चलै or चलबे (cf. § 129) to go, Ap. चलिबूहे, Pr. चलिअबूस्त, Skr. चलितव्यस्य; E. H. खाये (for *खाइए) or खाइबे to eat, Ap. खाइबूहे, Pr. खाइअबूस्त, Skr. खादितव्यरय.

156. तू is elided; rarely; in E. H. पैँतिस् thirty five (O. पइँतिशा, B. पयँतिशा for पञ्च०), A. Mg. पञ्चतीसि or पणतोसि (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चतिंशत्; E. H. पैँतालिम् forty five for पञ्चत्रत०, A. Mg. पञ्चत्रालोसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पणयालोसी), Skr. पञ्चत्रातिंशत्; E. H. पैँसठि sixty five, A. Mg. *पञ्चसठी, Skr. पञ्चषट्ठः.

157. Affinities. In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a conj.; thus some instances of श् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त् are, Pr. राई or रत्ती night, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काऊण having done (Vr. 4, 23) for *कातूण or *कत्तूण (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or *कृत्वान्), E. H. deest; Pr. काअबैं (Spt. 229) what is to be done, Mg. कायबैं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादबैं (Vk. 67) to be done for *कातबैं or *कत्तबैं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. deest (it forms कर्त्र); Pr. बन्धस्सन्धन् (Spt. A 53) companionship, Skr. बयस्यकर्त्वः. An instance of ङ् is Pr. तेलौञ्च or तेलोञ्च the three worlds (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. deest; and of ग्, Mg. नियोग devotee (Wb. Bh. 397) or नियांगे, Skr. निर्गतः, E. H. deest. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. कू, गू, गृ, कृष, चू become झू, झृ, झृ, झू, झृ respectively; thus कू in E. H. कंकर limestone, Pr. *कक्करि, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुलू (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः¹⁾; again नग् in E. H. नंग् naked, A. Mg. नागे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्मः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगी naked, नंगाद् nakedness, etc.; again कल् in E. H. पंख् wing, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पञ्चः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी fan, पंखरी or पंखडो flower-leaf (Ap. पक्खउआ), पंखी bird (from Skr. पञ्चिन्)²⁾; again रथ् in E. H. महंग high-priced, see § 145. exc. 2; again चूँ in E. H. पंछी bird, Pr. पञ्छिओ, Skr. पञ्चकः (from पञ्चिन् + क), and in its cognates पंछाला tail of a paper-kite (Ap. *पञ्चकन्त्रउ) from Skr. पञ्च tail³⁾.

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. बंके, Skr. ब्रक्षम्, E. H. बाँकू crooked; Pr. शंसू, Skr. शशु, E. H. शाँसू tear; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुँछ, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. II. पूँछ tail; Pr. पंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंजारो, Skr. मार्जारः, E. H. मंजारू cut, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. खिच्छू or बीछू scorpion (M. खिच्छू) for Pr. चिंहिओ or चिंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. स् and ह् become न्स् and न्; always; thus न्स् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस् goose, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् flesh, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा slaughter, see § 39⁴⁾, etc.; again ह् in E. H. सिंह् or सोँघ् lion, see p. 29; E. H. संधारू collection, Pr. संधारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of ह् to न् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of ह् and स्, see §§ 38, 39; and of घ् see § 13.

160. फ् and भ् become फ् and भ्; rarely; thus फ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) destitute, Mg. *कंकाले (i. e., कङ्गाले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्गालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. II. कंगन् bracelet, Pr. कंकण (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्गणम्; E. H. पलंग् bed, Mg. पलंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरो or पलंगडी small bedstead, Ap. पलंकउआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् mud, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरौ or ककडी cucumber, Pr. कक्कउआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँख्, पाँबा, पाँबो, cf. § 149.

3) पंछी and पंछाला might be corruptions for पुंछी, पुंछाला, from Pr. पुंछ, see note.

पाँगा *salt* (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकट, Skr. पङ्कजः; E. H. पंगति *row* (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्कृः; E. H. बाँगर् *high ground*, Ap. वंकड़, Skr. वङ्मय् (lit. curved); again छ् in E. H. कुन्ती *key*, Pr. *कुंचित्रा, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् and न् become लह् and नह्; optionally; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or कालह् *yesterday* or *to-morrow*, Pr. कलं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चोल् or चोलह् *kite*, Mg. चिल्, Skr. चिलृः; E. H. चोलर् or चोलहर् *louse*, Ap. चिलूँड़, Skr. चिलृः; E. H. पेलर् or पेलहर् *testicle*, Ap. पेलूँड़ (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेलूँट), Skr. पेलम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह *given*; A. Mg. दिने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिले (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीनह् *done* (Ap. Pr. किन्नउ H. C. 4, 329?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लौन् or लौन्ह *taken* for *लिन्, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. एन्हि *suffix of 3. pers. pl.* for *एन्ति or *इश्वन्ति, Pr. इश्व्रति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पठिन् or पठेन् or O. H. पठेन्हि *they read* for *पठिश्वन्ति, Pr. पठिश्वति, Skr. *पठितन्ति (*denom.*); E. H. चरेन् or O. H. चलैन्हि *they walked* for *चलिश्वन्ति, Pr. चलिश्वति (Skr. चलिता मवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लत्यं (H. C. 2, 68) and पलहत्यं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एपिह् (Vr. 4, 33) for एषिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स्य् becomes स्त्; rarely; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *husbandman, householder*, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्यः (*semitats.*), and its derivative ग्रिहस्तो *husbandry*.

163. पट् becomes न्द् or न्; rarely; E. H. गन्ना or गन्दा or गाँडा *sugarcane* (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडए, Skr. गणउकः; E. H. गंदेरी or गंडरो *joint of sugarcane*, Ap. गंडइल्लिआ, Skr. गणउक०.

164. कु् becomes त्; very rarely; E. H. कुन्ता *dog* (G. कुनर्), Ap. कुकुर्, Skr. कुक्करः (*usually E. H. कूकर् or कुकर्*); and its derivative E. H. कुतर् *puppy*.

165. त्य् and ध्य् become त् or त् and ठ् or ध् respectively; very rarely; thus E. H. नित् or नित्, A. Mg. निते (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मछि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. ज् and झ् become छ् and घ्; always in semitats.; see §§ 36. 37.

c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

a) VOWELS.

167. अ becomes इ; rarely; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिन्हा (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अमिल्का.

168. आ becomes ओ; sometimes; thus E. H. अचारङ् teacher, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचार् or आचार् conduct, Skr. आचारः; E. H. आया or आगया command, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए becomes ओ; rarely; E. II. अकेला solitary, A. Mg. एकल्लर (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or *एक्लिल्लर, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए becomes इ; sometimes; as E. H. इग्यारह् or ऐग्यारह् eleven; इव्यावन् or ऐव्यावन् fifty one, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए and ओ become ई and उ respectively; sometimes; thus ए in E. H. यक् or ऐक् or एक् one, Mg. एक्स (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. यह् or ऐह् (or इ) he, this, Ap. एह् or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. बह् or *ओह् (or ऊ) he, that, Ap. *एवेह् or *एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. *एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. बनइस् or ओनइस् nineteen, see § 123; and other compounds of ऊन; cf. § 98.

172. अ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. मोतर् within, A. Mg. अभिमंतर् (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. मोजै he is afflicted with grief, Pr. *अभिमत्तरु, Skr. अभ्ययते (pass. of अर्द्); E. H. मोजै he is wet, Pr. *अभिमत्तइ, Skr. अभ्यादूर्यते (denom. of आर्द् wet); E. H. काँड़ he sweeps, Pr. *अक्काडुइ, Skr. अधर्दयति (caus. of अर्द्) or Skr. अध्यादूर्यति (caus. of आर्द् roam, cf. Pr. कांटइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगा upper garment, A. Mg. अक्कंगए, Skr. अध्यङ्गकः; E. H. रहट water-wheel; E. H. तोसी flax, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as र्यणी, Skr. अरत्रिः, etc.

173. ऊ is elided; sometimes; thus E. H. छाहै he desires, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or बइठै he sits, Pr. उवकिटूइ, Skr. *उष्पविष्टति

(denom. of उपक्रिष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. ब्रह्मृत H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. पे upon, see § 124; E. H. पाधा teacher, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पोसह, Skr. उपूवसथ, etc.

β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. त् and द् become ट् and ढ्; rarely; thus त् in E. H. दृढ़ै or तृढ़ै it breaks, Pr. तुरुड़ (H. C. 4, 230). Skr. तुरुयनि; E. H. रट् or तरट् pony, Mg. *तरट् (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्वृकः (of R. त्; cf. तुरग horse); E. H. टीकृ or टीका (fem.) sectarian mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. ठोट् or ठोर् break for *टोर्, Pr. तोउं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुपउम्. Again द् in E. H. डीर् or दीर् or दीठि sight, see § 43; E. H. डाढ़ी or दाढ़ी beard, Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. देण्डिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाळ् or दाळु tooth, tusk, Pr. दाळा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार् or डाल् or दाल् branch (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दागी; E. H. डारा or डाला branch, A. Mg. *दालं॒र् or *डालं॒र् (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालं॒र्), Skr. दारकः; E. H. डारी or डाली branch, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाहिका; E. H. डेङ् or देङ् or डेवङ् or देवङ् one and a half. see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर् or दोर् cord, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली a swing, a dooly, Pr. डोलभो or डोलिआ or टौ, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. उड्डो or दड्डो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढ़ा burnt, fire (Skr. दग्धृकः?); Pr. उरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. उर् or दर् fear; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् malice, jealousy and दाह् burning; Pr. उभो or दभो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाम् kusa-grass; Pr. उसह, Skr. दग्निं he bites, E. H. उगै; Pr. उड्डो or दड्डो, Skr. दृष्टः bitten, oppressed, whence perhaps E. H. डाह् threat, डाई or डैट्टै he threatens; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै it burns, Mg. दहइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. उहइ (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंभ् arrogance, Pr. उभो or दभो, Skr. दर्भः.

175. क्, द्, त् become ख्, न्, ह्, respectively; very rarely; thus क् in E. H. खासी cough, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कास्तिका; E. H. ठोर् *beak* for *टोर्, see § 174; E. H. टेंकुना *bug*, Pr. उंकुणाओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुपाकः.

Note: Pr. examples are: खष्टर् (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खप् *skull, tile*; Pr. लोलन्नो (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कौलकः, but E. H. कौला *nail*; again Pr. कुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. छूछ् *mean*; again Pr. कडिलो or जडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. जटिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. घ् becomes ह्; rarely; E. H. हाँड् or भाँड् *pot*, A. Mg. घेडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाष्टः.

Note: In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय् *he is*.

177. Aspiration is transferred; E. H. मैस् or भैस् or महिस् or बहिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see § 178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for *ब्रुहुखा, Mg. ब्रुमुक्षिए (or भुक्षिए Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. ब्रुभुक्षितः; E. H. भवूति or भूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. चिपृतिः (*semitats.*); E. H. भाप् or भाफ् or ब्राफ् *steam*, see § 143; E. H. फृप् or फूफ् *flower*, see § 132.

178. म् becomes व्; very rarely; in E. H. ब्रहिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see § 177. 134.

* *Note:* In Pr. वम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मयः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् becomes न्; very rarely; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§ 31. 111.

Note: In Pr. पाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. पांगलं *plough*, पांगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गुलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लांगल् and लांगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् becomes ल्; very rarely; E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§ 31), A. Mg. नीले (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot*; E. H. लीमू or नीमू *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

Note: In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निर्मः; but E. H. नीम् *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् and व् become ज् and श् respectively; always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यतः (*semitats.*); E. H. जोग् *worthy*, Mg. योगो (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. याणाद् (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or याणादि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. ज्ञानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. बात्, see § 143; E. H. बाजै or बजै it is sounded, Pr. बज्जर (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वयने, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुरबासी citizen, Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. स् becomes छ्; very rarely; E. H. छोचै or सोचै he sprinkles, see § 149.

Note: In Pr. कत्तवसो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सपुष्पर्णः; E. H. deest.

183. ह् is prefixed; very rarely; E. H. होँठ lip, see § 149.

Note: Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो so large, श्रोडो or होडो so large, एतिरो or हेतिरो so many (Tr. 224), एकु or हेकु one (Tr. 157), इति or हिति here (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एथा or हेथा here, श्रोया or हेया there (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे hither (§ 468, b).

184. Consonants are elided; only in alliterative phrases; thus र् in रोटी श्रोटी meal (lit. bread, etc.); or ल् in खाना शाना dinner; very commonly प्, as पानी शानी water; श्रास् पास् close by; उलट् पुलट् topsy-turvy; अछताके पक्षताकै he repents deeply; etc.

y) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. श is interpolated; often; thus E. H. नहान् bathing, Ap. Pr. पहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाय् he bathes, Pr. पहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नातिः; E. H. नहाटै he flees, Pr. *पहटूर्, Skr. *सूत्यति (denom. of part. सूत्त); E. H. परोहन् carriage, Ap. प्रवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. पर्घट or पर्गट manifest, see § 102; E. H. पर्गास् clearness, Ap. Pr. प्रगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. पर्गासै he displays, Ap. Pr. प्रगासइ or प्रगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. पर्सन् pleased, Ap. Pr. प्रसाद्, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. परोहत leathern waterbucket, Ap. Pr. प्रवहउ or प्रवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68). Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सराहै he praises, Pr. सलाहट् (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्राध्यते; E. H. सराहन् praise, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्राध्यनम्; E. H. सरेस् glue (lit. adhesion), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्रेष्ठः (or Pers. سریش sirish?); E. H. मलान् faded, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. मुनम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् verse, Skr. श्रोकः (Pr. सिलोक्त्रो H. C. 2, 106).

Ls. 183); E. H. परोक्षन् *necessity*, पराम् *Allahābad*, पराचित् *penance*, see § 144.

Note: In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. प्राधा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. इ is interpolated; sometimes; thus E. H. तिरपन् *forty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिपसं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिरसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिसट्टौ, Skr. त्रिषष्ठिः; E. H. तिरिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिरहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. *पिलहिआ, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. *गिलापो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिरिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिका, Skr. त्रिका.

Note: In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love*; Pr. सिरी (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. किरिआ (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath*; Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ is interpolated; rarely; thus E. H. सुमिन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरणु (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. The first consonant is elided; always; thus E. H. भीतर् *within* for अभीतर्, A. Mg. अभिमन्तरै (§ 172), Skr. अन्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीतै, काँठ, कंगा, कंगिया, for अभीतै, ज्ञातै, ज्ञंगा, इंगिया, see § 172; E. H. इमा *forgiveness* for *च्छमा, Skr. ज्ञमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. इहावै *he desires for* *च्छाहै, see § 173.

Exception. इ remains, as E. H. ज्ञान् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the khari bhāshā optionally also इ following a cons., as प्रगट् or परगट् *manifest*, § 185.

Note: In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. धानम्; Pr. काशो or धाशो for *ज्ञाशो or ठाशो (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. घवः; Pr. इमा or बमा for *च्छमा or *क्षबमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives इमा in the sense of *earth* and बमा as *patience* or *forgiveness*; but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. ज्ञमा; Pr. ठाणं or थाणं for *दूराणं or *त्याणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally इं; as ज्ञाणै (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. धान०; or ज्ञूसिता (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. अधूषिता, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided; only ह्; thus E. H. नाड़ barber, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नाचितः (or *नाचिकः).*

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for *पहेहो (not for *स्त्रेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्त्रेहः, E. H. नेह् love, oil; Pr. निठं (H. C. 2, 109) for *पिहठं, Skr. पिन्धय्, E. H. deest.

190. *अ or इ is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats; thus E. H. अस्तुति or इस्तुति praise, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. अस्तान् bathing, Skr. स्तानम्; E. H. अस्तनह् love, Skr. स्त्रेहः; E. H. इस्तनरी woman, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. अस्कूल् or इस्कूल् school; E. H. इस्पंज् sponge; etc.*

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. अचपल् restless for Skr. चपलः

191. *क् and त् become क् and त्; only in semitats; see §§ 36.37. In tadbh. त् becomes त्; e. g., E. H. जानी or जान् sage, Pr. जाणी (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. जानी.*

SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा board, आगि and आगिया fire, चाम् and चमर् leather, मीठ् and मिठका sweet, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes, the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा eat, खाउ or खानिहार् eater, glutton; हँस् laugh, हँसी laughter; बढ़् grow, बढ़ती growth, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as वृत्ता old, वृत्तापन् old age; हलुक् light, हलुकर् lightness; बंगाल् Bengal, बंगाली a man of Bengal; भेड़ ram, भेड़ी ewe; etc.

Note: The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्त्रार्थ or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., वके (cf. H. C. 2, 163).

— In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *kṛt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the *taddhita* class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhātus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix आपि (Pr. आकि or आक्, E. H. आक् or आ) and nominal bases (called *prātipádi-kas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. क). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) *krit* or *taddhita* suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि growth from R. वृथ् and suff. ति, but E. H. वृद्धति of R. वर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्चता height from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उच्चार् from base उच्चश् and suff. इत्ता (= उच्चक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. as suffixes; though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in *tatsamas*) as nominal terminations and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. नि, in E. H. मुनि sage, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. करम् (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. पृत्री earth for Skr. पृत्री; or in E. H. रात् night, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or का and 2) ज

or एँ or ल or न. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

First Group.

195. Set. •

Masculine.

- अा, इ, ऊ; or इॅ.
 - अक्, इक्, उक्; or अक्कू, इक्कू, उक्कू.
 - अका, इका, उका; or अक्का, इक्का, उक्का.
 - अवा, इवा, उवा; or अवौ, इवौ, उवौ.
 - अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा.
 - औवा, इयवा¹⁾, उयवा¹⁾; or औवौ, इयवौ¹⁾, उयवौ¹⁾.

Feminine.

1. इ॑, ई॒, ऊ॑; or ई॒.
 2. अकू॑, इकू॑, उकू॑; or अक्कू॑, इक्कू॑, उक्कू॑.
 3. अकी॑, इकी॑, उकी॑; or अक्की॑, इक्की॑, उक्की॑.
 4. इया॑, इया॒, उवा॑; or इयाँ॑, इयाँ॒, उवाँ॑.
 5. अकिया॑, इकिया॑, उकिया॑; or अक्किया॑, इक्किया॑, उक्किया॑.
 6. इयवा॑¹⁾, इयवा॒¹⁾, उयवा॑¹⁾; or इयवाँ॑¹⁾, इयवाँ॒¹⁾, उयवाँ॑¹⁾.

Note: Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels ি and ় may or may not be inserted after ঃ, ঃ and ষ্ঠি (cf. § 28); e. g., উৰা or উଆ, ইযা or ইଆ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms*; those without the suff. their *weak forms*. The suff. आ (m.), इ (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. सौंच् or सौंना *true*; f. सौंच् or सौंची; or m. मीठ् or नीठा *sweet*, f. मीठ् or मीठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

1) Sometimes pronounced इवा, उवा or इवौँ, उवौँ; contracted like श्रीवा for *श्रीवत्ता § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर् *house* (not घरा), f. आत् *event* (not आती); m. घोरा (or घोड़ा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोरू); but m. पट् or पटा *board*, f. मेड् or मेडी *sheep*, etc. The suff. इ and ऊ (both gen. com.) are added to nouns in इ and ऊ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as मारी *heavy*, गर् *heavy*, हल् *light, slow* (not मारि, गरू, हलू). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., माली *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand आगि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not आगो, मुनी, गुरू). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as जानि or जानो *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इँ (com. gen.) can be added to adj. in इ only; as m. f. मारी or मरिँ[॒] *heavy*. The form in इँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in इ the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or छां, छी contain the suff. आ, इ of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or छ् are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठं-का or मिठङ्का, f. मिठं-की or मिठङ्की, of मीठ् *sweet*; छोटं-का, छोटं-की or छोटङ्का, छोटङ्की, of छोट् *small*; मरिका, मरिकी or मरिङ्का, मरिङ्की *heavy*, of *मारि (only used in the strong form मारी, § 196); हलुक् or हलुङ्क् (gen. com.) or हलुका, हलुको or हलुङ्का, हलुङ्की *light*, of *हलु (only in the strong form हलू, § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक् or तनिका *small*, of *तनु (see § 61); रचिक् *small*. As to the forms in अकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

Exception. There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as मिठुक् *beggar* beside मिठू; बालक् (or बालका) *child* beside बालू and बाला; छोकरा *boy*, छोकरो *girl* beside छोरा, छोरी, from *छोक्[॒] or

*क्षे० (= Skr. शाक०, Pr. शाक० Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. रा, री superadded. — Such nouns as लरिका boy (H. H. लड़का), बैठिका or बैठिकू seat (H. H. बैठकू), etc. contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

Note: The forms in का, की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठङ्का *mīthākkā*, भरिका *bharikkā*, हलुक्की *halukkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुकू *hálukk*, हलुका *hálukā*, छोटङ्की *chhot'kī*, etc.

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. अवा (m.), इया (f.) are added to nouns in अ, and the suff. उवा and ऊवा (both gen. com.) to nouns in इ and ऊ respectively. Thus, subst., m. घर or घर-वा *house*; f. बात् or बतिया *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर) or घोर-वा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. घोर) or घोरिया *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. मालि) or मलिया *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुवा *sand*; f. आगि or अगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*, etc. Again adj., m. हलुकू or हलुकवा *light*; f. हलुकू or हलुकिया; m. छोटङ्का (wk. f. छोटकू) or छोटङ्कवा *small*; f. छोटङ्की (wk. f. छोटकू) or छोटङ्किया.

Note: Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उआ for अवा; and Bates 58. इअ for इया. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. औवा, f. इयवा (or इवा) are added to subst. in अ, and c. g. इयवा and उववा (or ऊवा) to subst. in इ and ऊ respectively. Thus m. घर or घरैवा *house*; f. बात् or बतियवा (or बनोवा) *event*; m. घोरा (wk. f. घोर) or घोरैवा *horse*; f. घोरी (wk. f. *घोर) or घोरियवा *mare*; m. माली (wk. f. *मालि) or मलियवा (or मलीवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुववा (or बलुवा) *sand*; f. आगि or अगियवा *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुववा *teacher*. The suff. औवा and उववा may be con-

tracted to शौ; e. g.; धोरौवा or धोरौ; बलुश्वा' or बलौ. The suff. शौवा may be also contracted into शउ; as धोरैवा or धोरै.

Note: The contracted suff. शौ always takes the accent; as धोरौ *ghōraū*, not *ghōrau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gd. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gd., of आ, ई and उ; in N. and W. Gd. of ओ (or औ), ई' and ऊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gd.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gd., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) अ, ए, औ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उआ; as B. रामा, E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; B. हे, E. H. हरिया *Hari*; B. संभो, E. H. संमुआ *Sambhú*; (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. राधी, E. H. राधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies¹⁾. See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अया* for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रामन्या cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám*; Mg. दुर्गी, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá*. See my Vth Essay on Gd. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अवा, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, ओवा, अऊ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्है *krishṇa*²⁾;

1) E. g., sometimes ई migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काश्वो or केशो for E. H. कसिया *káśi* (abbreviated for *káśináth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. तलायये = Skr. तडाककः of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कनहयये = Skr. *कृष्णाककः of कृष्ण.

गङ्गिया, गङ्गैया, गङ्गई, गङ्गे *pit*; etc. In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बछवा *calf*, कञ्जवा or कञ्जवा *bitter*; etc. •

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रकः *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (cf. § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes अ, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 3 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क्, but even to prolong the preceding vowel¹⁾, thus making the suff. आक, इक, उक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)²⁾. In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding आ and compensates it by doubling क्; viz. in हउङ्के *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for *हउङ्के, Skr. हृत्यकम्, Ps. हितअकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हितयञ्च (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it अक्ष (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)³⁾ or in Mg. कअ or आकय,

1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलअ. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 क दीर्घे वा । कप्यत्यये परे पूर्वे दीर्घे वा स्यात् ॥ i. e., „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long“. The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घे (?); the example is: लाउलाके । लाउपाके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुअयं, E. H. बहुअवा.

ईकअ, उकअ. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, उके by retaining क; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, उकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क; 4) अअए, इअए, उअए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either contracted to आ, ई, ऊ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting य् or व् § 69) into अवा, इया, उवा¹); the result being the 1st and 4th E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इउं, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इउं. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अकू, इकू, उकू (cf. § 45) or अङ्कू, इङ्कू, उङ्कू by doubling कू and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2nd set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either contracted to अका, इका, उका and अङ्का, इङ्का, उङ्का, or separated into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अङ्कवा, इङ्कवा, उङ्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3rd and 5th sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. औवा (contracted for *अवन्वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इङ्वा or contr. इवा § 83, exc.), उअवा (or उववा or contr. उवा § 84, exc.) by inserting य् or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6th set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः: horse, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) धीउआह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोरा or घोर्वा; Skr. *घोटकः, Mg. (gen.) घोउआह, E. H. घोरौवा (for *घोरववा); or Skr. मिठकः: sweet, Mg. मिटूए or मिटूके or मिटूजे, E. H. मीठा or मिठूक or मिठङ्कू; Skr. *मिष्टकः, Mg. मिटूकए or मिटूकए. E. H. मिठका or मिठड्हा or मिठवा or मिठङ्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. दशा and उशा = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इया and उवा; 2) Pr. *अकी, *इकी, *उकी²) or आकी, ईकी, उकी = E. H. अकू, इकू, उकू or अङ्कू, इङ्कू, उङ्कू (§ 43); 3). Pr. अकिआ, इकिआ, उकिआ or आकिआ, ईकिआ, उकिआ = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अङ्की, इङ्की, उङ्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; 4) Pr. *इअशा, *उअशा³), (= *इकका, *उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उअवा (or उववा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When कू is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मट्टिका (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटी or मटिया; Skr. *मृत्तिका, Mg. मट्टिका, E. H. मटिया; or Skr. मिष्ठा or मिष्टिका *sweet*; Mg. मिट्टा or मिट्टिया, E. H. मीठ or मीठी or मिठिया; Skr. *मिष्टिकी, Mg. मिट्टीकी or मिट्टिकी, E. H. मिठकू or मिठङ्कू; Skr. *मिष्टिकिका, Mg. मिट्टिकिका or मिट्टिकिशा, E. H. मिठकी or मिठङ्की or मिनकिया or मिठङ्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and उ or ल. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (उ or ल) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृश्य), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in अ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the अ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into अ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the अ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in ए, ई, उ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, इए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in इ and उ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in ए, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, कौ (see §§ 196. 198).

— Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अए, इए, उए, in their contracted Gd. forms आ, ई, उ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly ए and उ were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इवा, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations औवा, इयवा, उअवा.

• *Second Group.*

206.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1.	अह्	अहा	अही
	2.	आह्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. आ, ई of the 1st set 1st group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गजह् or गङ्ह fort, from गङ्ह enclosure; अहा in गउहा (or गाडा), from गाड or गडा cavity; m. बउहा, f. °ही, from बउर् or m. बउरा, f. °री mad (W. H. बावल् or बावला); m.

मिर्कुट्हा, f. °ही *feeble* '(also मिर्कुट्हा), from मरकट् *monkey* (?); again आह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क्, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final न् of the base) अए (i. e. अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अहे); or adding pleon. अ (= क्, i. e., doubling क्) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अहो. In Mg. the vowel, preceding क्, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आको, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आहे, आहो). E. g., Skr. गर्तकः, Mg. गडुके or गटुए, E. H. गडह् or गड़ु; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. बउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलके or वाउलअए, E. H. बउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. बउरहो. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घटिअए, Skr. घटितकः.

Third Group.

	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	अर् or अरू	अरा or अर्णा	अरी or अर्णी
	b.	— —	अरू or अरू	अरू or अरू
2)		एर् or एरू	एरा or एरा	एरी or एरी
3)		ओर् or ओरू	ओरा or ओर्डा	ओरी or ओर्डी
4)		अल् or अर्	अला or अरा	अली or अरी
5)	a.	एल् or एर्	एला or एरा	एली or एरी
	b.	ईल् or ईर्	ईला or ईरा	ईली or ईरी
	c.	इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
6)	a.	ओल् or ओर्	ओला or ओरा	ओली or ओरी
	b.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
	c.	उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी
7)	a.	अन्	अना	अनी
	b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with र् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with र् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always र्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1st set 1st group are strong. The forms अर् or अरू, contracted from Ap. Pr. अउ = *अउकः, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठर् or गठरा, f. °री, of गान् (or गठा) *bundle*; चमरा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकर् (or कीचर्), of चीकू (or कीचू) *mud* (cf. § 133); लब्बोर्, of लब्बू *glutton*; टुकरा, f. °री, of टुकू (Skr. स्तोक) *piece*; पटरा, f. °री, of पट (or पटा) *board*; पलंगरा, f. °री, of पलंग *bedstead*; बछरा, f. °री or m. f. बछर् *calf, colt*, of बछू (or बछा) *young*; भूखर्, of भूखू (or भूखा) *hungry*; भुलकर्, of भूलकू *forgetful*; मोटरा, of मोटू *bundle*; मेहरार्, of मेहर् *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकरा *a hundred*, of *सैकू (A. Mg. सयङ्क, Skr. शतक); टोकरा *basket*, of *टोकू; धोर् or धोरा, f. °री *little*, of *धो (Pr. धोन्न, Skr. स्तोक, cf. § 97); छोकरा or छौरा *boy* and छोकरी or छौरी *girl*, of *छोकू or *छौरौ (see § 198 exc.); छेरा, f. छेरी *goat*, of *छे (Mg. छाय, Skr. छाग); आगारी *front*, of *आगा (Skr. अग्र); पहारी *back*, of *पाङ्गा (Skr. पञ्च); पहारू *mountain* and पहारा, *multiplication-table*, of *पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus बछेरा *colt*, बछेरी *filly*, of बछू (or बछा) *young*; घनेर् or घनेरा, f. °री, of घन् *much*; गातेरा, of गातू (or गाता) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोटू (or मोटा) *fat*; जेठरा, f. °री, of जेहू (or जेठा) *eldest*; रसरा, f. °री, of *रस्सू or रस्सा *cord*; मुहरा *vanguard*, मुहरी *cuff, bore of a gun*, of मुहू *mouth*; हथल् or हथरी, of हथू or हथा *handle*; सुतला or सुतरा, f. °री *string*, of सूतू *thread*; परला, f. °ली, of पार् *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as आगला, f. ली *former*, of *आगा (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. आगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother*, of M. माड, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5th set in पतील् or पतीला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan*; खपरेल्, of खपर् (or खपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोर् *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; आधेला, of आधू *one half*; पइला, of पाय् *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक् *one, solitary*. The 6th set in सपोला, of साप् *snake*; कंकरोला, of ककर् (or ककरी) *gourd*; ब्रतोला, of ब्रात् *talk*; बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute*, of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer*, of बाँक् *fop*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost*, of आग् (Skr. अग्न); मरेला or मरिला or मरोला *middle*, of *मारू (Skr. मध्य); पहिल् or °ला *last*, of *पाहू (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् *of that kind*; कइसन् *of which kind*, जइसन् *of which kind*, of *अइस्, *तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; ऐतना, f. °नी *this much*, ओतना, f. °नी *that much*; तेतना, f. °नी *so much*; केनना, f. °नी *how much*; जेतना, f. °नी *as much*, of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् *or अपुना or अपना*, f. °नी *own*, of *आप् (Skr. आत्मीय), see § 111; तवन्, f. तउनी *he, that*; कवन्, f. कउनी *who*; जवन्, f. जउनी *which*, of *जेव्, *केव्, *जेव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: छोना, f. छौनी *young of an animal*, from *छौं, see § 210; थुथना, f. °नी, of थोथ् *mouth of an animal*; जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple*, see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बछ् or बछा is *any young animal*, but बछरा is *a calf or colt* and बछेरा *a colt*; मफेली or मफोली *a kind of carriage of middling size*; मिठरी *a particular kind of sweetmeat*; etc.. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला *a peachick*; सपोला *a young snake*; आँखरी *a wink*, lit. a small आँख् or *eye*. Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरी *a certain jewel of copper color* (lit. like ताम् or *copper*); ललरी *a false stone resembling a लाल् or ruby*; पातुर or पतुरा *thin, weak*, lit. like a पात् or *leaf*. Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll*, lit. a little or like a पूत् *son*; चौलरू or चौलहरू *louse*, lit. a small or like a चौल् *hawk*. — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, दुकरी, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतोली, सुतली, रसरी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठरा *large bundle*, गठरी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes इ for इ (§ 217), and S. sometimes इ for ल्, as in लिखन्दु^{तु} *writer* from लिखन्दो, but generally ल्, as डिलु *seen* from डिलो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. ल् or तु to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses तो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written*.

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. अउ, f. अउ (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. अ added, m. अउए, f. अउआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. अइ or अइ and m. अगा or अरा, f. अडी or अरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठउ (Skr. गन्ध H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठर; Mg. गंठउए, E. H. गठरा; Mg. गंठउआ, E. H. गठरी. 2) The same, with the pleon. अ added to the base of the word, m. अअउ, f. अअउ and m. अअउए, f. अअउआ. These, by inserting य् (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एइ or एइ and m. एगा or एरा, f. एडी or एरी; or by inserting क् (§ 69) and contracting अव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओइ or ओइ and m. ओगा or ओरा, f. ओडी or ओरी; e. g., Ap. Mg. घणाअउ or घणाअउ, E. H. घनेर; Ap. Mg. वच्छबउए or वच्छयउए, E. H. बक्षेर; Ap. Mg. वच्छअउआ or वच्छयउआ, E. H. बक्षेरी; again Ap. Mg. गडुअउए or गडुवउए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गटोरा. 3) Mg. m. अल्लौ or अल्ले, f. अल्ली or अल्ली or, with pleon. अ added, m. अल्लए or अल्लए, f. अल्लिआ

or इलिशा. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. अल् or अर् and m. अला or अरा, f. अली or अरी; thus Mg. नवले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एकलाए (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकरा; Mg. एकलिशा, E. H. इकली or इकरी; again Mg. पीललए *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पीला or पीरा (§ 97); Mg. अंधलए *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. अंधला or अंधरा; Mg. पत्रलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्रल् or पत्रर्; Mg. विज्ञुलिशा *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विषुपृष्ठ), E. H. बिज्ञुली or बिज्ञुरी; Ap. Mg. अगलाए *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. अगला. 4) Mg. m. इल् or इले, f. इली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्लए or इलए, f. इलिशा or इलिशा. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मधिलाए or मधिलाए *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मधिकलिशा or मधिकलिशा, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पठमिल् (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेजिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतनाद, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरो; Mg. f. तेजिलिशा, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पतिलाङ्ग or पतिलाङ्ग *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतोला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल् or उले, f. उली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्लए or उलए, f. उलिशा or उलिशा. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or ऊल् or उल्, and m. ओला or ऊला or उला, f. ओली or ऊली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मञ्जुलाए *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकोला; Ap. Mg. f. मञ्जुलिशा, E. H. मकोली; Mg. मुहुलाङ्ग (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुल), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्युलिशा (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. हथुरी or हथरी; Mg. अप्पुले (see §§ 60.111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेहुलए (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58.111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. पाए, f. पिशा, n. पाङ्ग. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पपाए (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पपिशा, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पपाङ्ग (H. C. 2, 153) stands for *अप्पुपाङ्ग = अप्पुलाङ्ग (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्.

(or लू), as in E. H. जामुन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल and उल्, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अयल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of य् and व्, from अअल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. अल. The latter (अल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of अउ, through the common interchange of उ and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. चिन्तुडी *lightning* for Pr. चिन्तुली¹). As to the origin of अउ, see § 218. Of the change of अउ to अउ, now almost universal in W. Gd., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहरं or दोहे *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दोरु *a long while ago*; Pr. बाहिरं or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिरु, m. बाहिरा, f. °री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= र, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. ल् and र् (i. e. र), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ए (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कतकः *crab*, Pr. कङ्कडो or कङ्कडश्चो, E. H. कंकारु or केंकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. अ, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटै or ऊटै (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटो *a strip of leather* = Skr. चर्म + पत्रिका; ब्राह्मणेटा *young brāhmaṇa* = Pr. ब्रह्मण + चिट्ठो (*brāhmaṇa's son*); हिरण्योटा *fawn* = हिरण्य + पुत्र. B. has आटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ए (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृश् *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदृश् (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. इदृशम् (lit. *इयादृश् = इयत् + दृश्); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक् (or मध्यम्), Mg. *मङ्गलभ्रउ = *मङ्गलश्चले = *मङ्गलयले = *मङ्गलोले = मङ्गिले or मङ्गिले, E. H. मङ्गल् or मङ्गिल्.

Ap^a Pr. it occurs as तो or तः; e. g., in एवतो or एवतु (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. *एवादृष्टः (from Ved. इवत् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms तो and तः are, evidently, contractions for *उहो and उहु resp., where तः would easily arise from the Skr. त् (just as Pr. तः from Skr. द्व् H. C. 2, 36. 37) and °अह्° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्ये here = Ap. इत्तहे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. तो and तः, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial तः would be (as usual) liable to change to त् or त्, ल् or र्, and न्. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. त or त् may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *kränklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gd.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms ठा, ठी (for ता, तः), which have preserved the original त् of the Ap. Pr. *उहो, *उही, as in M. तेवठा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवतु.

2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gd., but were full nouns in Pr.

First Group.

220. Set. 1. Fem. श्वर्. Set. 2. Fem. आर्.

Both, containing the suff. इ of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus श्वर्, in हलुक्ष्वर् *lightness*, of हलुक्ष्वा *light*; नंदर् *coldness*, of नंद *cold*; सधुश्वर् *simplicity*, of सधुआ *simple*; मार्गिश्वर् *heaviness*, of मार्गिया *heavy*; etc. Again आर्, in भलार् *goodness*, of भला *good*; ब्रह्मार् *greatness*, of ब्रजा *great*; मिठार् *sweetness*, of मीठा *sweet*; गोलार् *roundness*, of गोला *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindí (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in आ, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in ता. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in आया, and आया is vocalized to इआ (cf. § 121); thus ब्रजा *great*, lg. f. ब्रजया, whence ब्रह्मार् *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Ba. II, 79). The आ in such forms is anomalous for श्व, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous आ; but E. H. has regularly श्व; e. g., W. H. गरुआइ, but E. H. गरुश्वर् *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds आर् to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. ता; as H. H. कोमलतार् *comeliness*; योग्यतार् *or ज्ञानार् worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddhita ता (fem.), in Pr. दा or आ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. क superadded, it is Skr. तिका, Pr. दिआं or इआ or, incl. of the final श्व of the base, श्वआ, and Gd. श्वर् (§ 51). And with pleon. श्व (= क) added to the base we have Pr. अश्वश्वा, contracted in Gd. आर्. Thus Skr. मिष्टता or *मिष्टतिका, Pr. मिटूइआ, F. H. मिठई; and Skr. *मिष्टकतिका, Pr. मिटूश्वश्वा, E. H. मिठार्; again Skr. *साधुकतिका, Pr. साधुश्वश्वा, E. H. सधुश्वर्; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अङ्गार् *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अङ्गारः (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. अर्धतृतीया.

Second Group.

224. Set 1. Masc. आउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्.

Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of ऊँचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*; शोँउआउ or शोँउआव् or शोँउआन् *depth*, of शोँउ *deep*; चोराउ or चोराव् or चोरान् *breadth, width*, of चोरा (H. H. चौडा) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

Note: There are also the ordinary forms in आई (§ 229); as ऊँचाई, गहिराई, लम्बाई, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. ई, पाणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. ता or neut. त् for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आइपि for आपि, the former of which, probably, stands for आपानि and is to be explained like the P. इआई for आई, see § 222. In S. the suff. आपि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as अङ्गापि *whiteness*, करापि *blackness*, ब्रजापि *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन् (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. sg.) तं or त्वणि (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final ं of the base, अतं or अत्वणि or (eliding त्, see § 153) अशं or अश्वणि (see Spt. A. 5. 2. वशस्तश्वण = Skr. वश्यकत्वं) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अश्वणु (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अश्वउ contracts in H. to आउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form अश्राप् contracts to H. आन्. E. g., Skr. उच्चत्वम् *height*, Pr. उच्चत्रं or उच्चत्रं, Ap. उच्चत्रः, E. H. ऊँचात् or ऊँचाक्; again Skr. *उच्चत्वम्, Pr. उच्चत्रं or उच्चत्रं, Ap. उच्चत्रप्, E. H. ऊँचान्. S. has, apparently, preserved the न् in मुखितान्¹⁾ *duty of a headman* (Tr. 61), but not in चोकिरात् *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of चोकर् and वट् (Ap. for Skr. वृत्तम्).

Third Group.

228.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a. पा b. प् or पा		—
	a. पन् b. पन् or पना		पनी

The suff. in आ and ई are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with प् are added to weak, those with प् to strong bases; but पना, पनी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms पन् or पन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus प् in बुद्धाप् *old age*, of बुद्धा *old*; पा or पा in बुद्धापा *old age*, छोटपा or छोटापा *smallness*, of छोट् or छोटा *small*; मोटपा or मोटापा *fatness*, of मोट् or मोटा *fat*; रंडपा *widowhood*, of रंड़् *widow*; etc.; पन् or पन् in बडपन् or बडापन् *greatness* (cf H. C. 4, 437), of बड् or बडा *great*; सुधापन् *simplicity*, of सूधा *simple*; गरूपन् or गरूपन् *heaviness*, of *गरू or गर् *heavy*; बालकपन् *childhood*, of बालक् *child*, etc.; पना or पनी in छोटनपना *smallness*; लुचनपना or लुचनपनी *profligacy*, of लुच् *profligate*; ज्ञाननपनी *knowingness, knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing*; पात्रीपना *profligacy*, of पात्री *profligate*, etc.

Note: Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुजलापन् *itching*, from खुजलाक् *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun *खुजला (cf. M. खातरा Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुजलो.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. तप् (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. मुखितान् scl. वट्.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. ष fem., पो m.; पार्द् f., पी f., पण् m., पणो m. (Tr. 59—61); G. पो m., पण् m., पण् n. (Ed. 14); P. ष m., पुण् or पुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उच्चारपुणा *business of a pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously पना; O. has पण् m., पणिआ f. (e. g., माँउपणिआ *roguey*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or आमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, माँउमि *roguey*, ठिलामि *laziness of thieving*, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन् (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) त्वं or त्वां (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. श added, त्वशं or त्वाशं. The Ap. त्वं and त्वशं become in E. H. ष and षा or पा respectively; and the Ap. त्वां and त्वाशं become E. H. पन् or पना and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. बृद्धत्वम्, Ap. बुद्धत्वं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुद्धाप्; Skr. *बृद्धत्वक्, Ap. बुद्धत्वशं, E. H. बुद्धत्वा or बुद्धापा; Skr. *बृद्धत्वनम्, Ap. बुद्धत्वपां, E. H. बुद्धत्वन् or बुद्धापन्; Skr. *बृद्धत्वनकम्, Ap. बुद्धत्वपाशं, E. H. बुद्धत्वापा or बुद्धापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct ष, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भलूम् = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the ष has been apparently softened to म्.

Fourth Group.

232.	Set.	Com.	gen.	Fem.
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- | | | | | | | |
|----|------|----|-----|------|----|-----|
| 1) | वंत् | or | वत् | वंती | or | वती |
| 2) | मंत् | or | मत् | मंती | or | मती |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (as वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भगतवंत् or °वत् *faithful*, of भगत् *faith*; सोगवंत् or °वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue*; जयवंत् or वत् *victorious*, of जय् *victory*; मानवंत् or °वत् *pride*, of मान् *pride*; प्राप्तवंत् or °वत् *fortunate, excellent*, of भग् *fortune, excellence*, etc. Again मंत् or मत् in सिरिमंत् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent, of sīrī excellence*; हनुमंत् or °मत् *monkey*, of हनु *jaw*; भक्तिमंत् or °मत् *devoted*, of भक्ति *devotion*; पुनर्मंत् or °मत् *virtuous*, of पुन् *virtue*; etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवतो *wealthiness*, of धनवंत् *wealthy*; सोचवतो *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful*, of सोच् *thought*, etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वतो; as रूपवान् *beautiful*, f. रूपवतो; धनवान् *wealthy*, f. धनवतो; दयावान् *merciful*, f. दयावतो, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God*, भगवतो *the goddess Gaudī*, etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god*, etc. S. has the suff. वान् m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवानी, E. H. m. f. सीलवंत् or °वत्; H. H. m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवतो *amiable*. This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडेवान् or गाडेवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वंत and मंत (Vr. 4, 35. H.C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वंते and मंते, f. वंतो and मंतो; in E. H. m. f. वंत् and मंत् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. ऋ added, in Mg. f. वंतिश्चा and मंतिश्चा, E. H. वंतो and मंतो or वतो and मतो (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धणवते, E. H. धनवंत् or °वत्; Skr. f. धनवतो, Mg. धणवंतो, E. H. धनवंत् or °वत्; again Skr. f. *धनवतिका, Mg. धणवंतिश्चा, E. H. धनवंती or °वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वान्, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वंतो, f. वंतो; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मान्, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मंतो, मंतो.

Fifth Group.

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. आइत् (§ 82). Masc. आइता or एता.
Fem. आइती or एती (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessorial adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus ट्लाइत् *shield-bearer*, ट्लैतो or ट्लैती *office of sh.*^o, from टाल् *shield*; ब्रह्माइत् *spearsman*, of ब्रह्मा *spear*; कृत्तिलाइत् *warrior-bard*, of वृत्ति *war-song*; लिंगाइत् *a ling-worshipper*, of लिंगो *phallus*; चरचाइत् *talker*, of चरचा *talk*; नाताइत् *kinsman*, of नाता *kin*; कराइत् or करैता or करैता *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of कारा or काला *black*; उकाइत् *robber* and उकैती or उकैती *profession of robbery*, of उका *robbery*; बहुताइत् (fem.) *abundance*, of बहुत् *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S they are: 1) m. एतो, f. एती (for *आइतो, *आइती) added to weak bases, as पुद्रेतो *having a son*, of पुद्रु *son* (base पुद्र, Skr. पुत्र); and 2) m. आइतो, f. आइती added to strong bases, as वाराइतो *opportune*, of वारो *time* (base वारा = वारश, Skr. वारक). P. has occasionally the form एत्ते or एत्दे (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals इत् or इत्ते are mentioned in close connection with वंत and मंत. The latter, incl. of the final श of the base, would be श्रवंत and श्रमंत or (eliding व् and म्) श्रम्भंत, or (inserting य्, § 69) श्रयंत, or (vocalizing य्, § 121) श्रङ्गत, or (again detaching the श of the base) इत्. Thus Pr. माणाइतो or माणाइती *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be == माणायतो == माणाश्रंतो, माणवंतो = Skr. मानवान्. With pleon. श added to the suff., they are Pr. m. आइत्तओ, f. आइत्तिओ; S. m. एतो, f. एती. Or with pleon. श added to the base, Pr. m. शआइत्तो, f. शआइत्ती, E. H. m. or f. आइत्; and with pleon. श added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. शआइत्तओ, f. शआइत्तिओ; S. m. आइतो, f. आइती; E. H. m. आइता or एता, f. आइती or एती. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चङ्गाइत् or चङ्गिता or चङ्गेता *rider*, *trooper*, दंगाइत् or f. दंगिती or दंगैती *quarrelsome*, अकडाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चङ्ग *mount*; दंग *quarrel*, अकड *strut*; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चङ्गाव्, दंगाव्, अकडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. आपयन्, in Pr. आवेंतो or आवंतो. The latter would change to आवंतो, आवंतो, आइतो or आइत्रो, and in Gd. आडत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइतो *angry* and पापाइतो *alive*, end in आइतो with long ā. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कवृइत्रो *poetical* and माणाइत्रो *proud*, indeed, end in आइतो with ā; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. आव to आव, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

Sixth Group.

241.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आल् or आर्	आला or आरा	आलो or आरी
	2)	आल् or आर्	"आल् or आर्	आल् or आर्

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with ल् and र्, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोँदाल् or तोँदार् or m. °रा, f. री *pot-bellied*, of तोँदु *belly*; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice*; पबाल् f. or पबारा or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पाल् *side*; रेताला *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; दुधार् or दधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk* (M. दुधाल्), etc. Again the 2nd set in दयालु or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (*Skr. दया*) *mercy*; लजालु or लजालू *bashful*, of लाज् *shame*; perhaps also कगालू *quarrelsome* of कगरा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

Note: In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर or मेहरार्, *woman*; घंडी or घंडिया f. or घंडियाल् or घंडियार् m. *clock, gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with र्, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हार् *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272, 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, ख्, sometimes त्; thus केसांख् or केसांत् *hairy, frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has ख्; as रेतांख् or रेतांत् *sandy*, S. has ल् or र्, like E. H., and sometimes त् (Tr. 66. 69); as धणार् *herdsman*, जवालू (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; सामाड् *right-handed*. P. has ख् or ल्; as उन्नामा *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल् and आलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. आले, f. आली and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आर् or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E.g., Skr. रसालः, A. Mg. रसाले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. रसाल् or रसार्; Skr. दुधाला, Mg. दुजाला or दोली, E. H. दुधाल or दोर्; Skr. *तुन्दालकः (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोँदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोँदारा; f. Skr. *तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोँलिआ, E. H. तोँदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E.g., Skr. दयालुः, Mg. दयालू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. दयाल् or दोर्; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लज्जालू or दोर्. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश *like*; see § 251.



Seventh Group.

245.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)		अइल् or अइर्	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी
2)		इल् or इर्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
3)		अउल् or अउर्	औला or औरा	औली or औरी
4)		उल् or उर्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessorial adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1st set in दंगइल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गंठैला, f. °ली *knotty*, of गाँह *knot*; पैत्ता, f. °ली *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पथरइल् m. or f., or पथरैला, f. °ली *full of stones*, of पथर् *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; खपरइल् *a tiled house*, of खपरा *tile*; बोकइल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधइल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk*; etc. Again the 2nd set in रेतिला, f. ली *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3^d set in पथउर् m. or f., or पथौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पथर् *stone*; उँकउर् m. or f., or उँकोरा, f. °री *having a sting*, a wasp, of उँक् *sting*; रसउर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमौरी or घमौली *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौलो *green caterpillar*, of बौक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4th set in पातुर् *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर् or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *ves.t.d*; पातुर् *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बातुर् or बउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावज्जा), of बाय् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occasionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °ली *wild*, *savage*, of बन् *a wood*; घरैला, f. °ली *tame*, of घर् *house*; कलोरी or कलोली *tumour in the armpit*, of काळ् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., but in the W. and S. Gd. they have an initial र् or इ् for ऐ्, and ओ or ऊ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ् or ऊ. The M., G. and O. have झ्, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलौ or इलौ, H. H. एला or इला or अला, M. एझा or इझा, G. एझो or इझो, S. एलो or एरो, इलो or इरो, इरु (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gds., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँठैला, W. H. गँठौलो *knotty*; W. H. घमौली, M. घमौझी *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल् and उल् (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. अ added to the base, अइल् and अउल् or, with pleon. अ added to the suff., इल्लअ, अइल्लअ, उल्लअ, अउल्लअ, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regularly arise. Thus E. H. पथरइल् = A. Mg. पत्यलइल्; E. H. पथरैला = A. Mg. पत्यरइल्लए; E. H. पथरउर् = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्; E. H. पथरोरा = A. Mg. पत्यलउल्लए; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पत्तुलिशा, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with one ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल knotty; उल् or उल in ब्रातुल or ब्रातूल gouty; ओल in गपडोला raw sugar, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर् (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल् (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इर् (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर्, except as an alternative of इल्. — As to the origin of the suff. इल् and उल् (probably from Skr. दृश), see § 251.

• Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर् or एर्	एरा or एरा	एरी or एरी
	b.		एर् or एर्	एर् or एर्
2)	a.	ओर् or ओर्	ओरा or ओरा	ओरी or ओरी
	b.	ओर् or ओर्	ओरा or ओरा	ओरी or ओरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with र् are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in संपेरा or संपेडा snake-catcher, of साप snake; कटेरा palings, of कांटा thorn; पछेटा bird, of पाख wing. The second set in लकोरा or लड्कोडा parents, of लट्टिका child; पखोटा shoulder-blade, of पाख side; हथोरा or हथोरी hammer, of हाथ handle; करोरा tax-gatherer, of कर् tax, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इङ्घो (Tr. 70) and M. आउद्या (Man. 113); e.g., S. पेटिङ्घो walker, of पैर् or पैर् foot, बाटाउद्या guide, of बाट way. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or ाँ or इ; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलू or आलू, M. आँक्त or आँक्त, S. आउ or M. आउ; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. एला or एला or एगा, M. एका; E. H. औला, औडा, W. H. औला or औडा, M. औका. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृष्टा, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृष्टाकः would, in Ap. Pr., become दिव्यः, whence, eliding द् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms दृयो and दृया would arise, as contained in S. इड्यो and M. आउया. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एगा, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृष्टा like दृष्टा would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively*, *prickly*, *sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

Ninth Group.

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
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1)	ई	“	—	इकी
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2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी	
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The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form इया (see § 199). Thus, 1st set in संगी or सघनी *friend*, *companion*, of सग् or संघन् *companionship*; बारी or कुनही *enemy*, of बार् or कुनह् *enmity*; ब्रकवादी or ब्रतोलिया or ब्रतुनिया *a talkative person*, of ब्रकवाद् or ब्रतोला *talk*; सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness*; दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain*; धनी *wealthy*, of धम् *wealth*; तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil*; माली *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland*; धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing*; हथौटी or हथौटिया *craftsman*, of हथौटी *handicraft*; ब्रह्मेलिया *huntsman*, of ब्राह्म् *shooting*; गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दूई *belonging to*

a *Hindú* of हिन्दू *Hindú*; मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); अंग्रेजी *English* of अंग्रेज् *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2nd set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc. .

254. Derivatives in इ are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangálí language*; बहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman*; but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी a woman of *Bangál*, बहिरिनि or बहिरिनी a woman of a foreign country.

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक्; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203. footnote 1) or, with pleon. अ added, इकए; whence E. H. इ or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. मराहिट्रिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. इय्; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. इय् would be Mg. इए, E. H. इ. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — इ Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी
 3) „ आइन् or आइनो „ 4) „ — आनी
 The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final ऊ of a base is not elided, but changed to ऊ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी a *Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú*.

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus उंगरी *hillock*, of उंगरा *hill*; अनी *copse*, of अन् *wood*; बाँस्ती *flute* (lit. small piece of bamboo), of बाँस् *bamboo*; गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball*; तोरी *string* of तोरा *rope*; चोलो

bodice, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding* or *guardianship*, of रखवारु *guardian*; ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत् *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हारु *an acquaintance*; पढनिहारी *reading* or *readership*, of पढनिहारु or °रा *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.; सौंची *true*, of m. सौंचा; बँकी *crooked*, of m. बँका; मोठी *sweet*, of m. मोठा; गूळी *hungry*, of m. गूळा; बडी *great*, of m. बडा, etc. Or subst., छोरी or छोकरी or लटिकी *girl*, of छोरा or छोकरा or लटिका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटी *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or छेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or छेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेडी *ewe*, of भेडा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occasionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fm. goldsmith*, of *सोनारा or सोनारु m.; चमारी *f. leather-worker*, of *चमारा or चमारु m.; कोँहारी, *f. potter*, of *कोहारा or कोँहारु m.; कहारी, *f. porter*, of *कहारा or कहारु m.; सुतारी, *f. carpenter*, of *सुतारा or सुतारु m.

Note: In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुन्तिया *fm.*, of कुन्ता *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिबा *box*, बुन्डिया *old woman*, of बृद्धा *old man*; but the short forms कुन्ती, डिबी, बृद्धी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or °रिनी *f. goldsmith*, of सोनारु m.; चमारिनि or °रिनी *f. leather-worker*, of चमारु m.; गोबालिनि or गुवू^० or गु० *f. cowherd*, of गोबाल् m.; घटवालिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवाल् m., etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी *f. moth*, of पातुरु m.; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघ् *tiger*; सीँधिनि or सिँधिनी *lioness*, of सीँधू *lion*. Again in ई; persons; परोसिनि or °सिनी *f. neighbour*, of परोसी m.; बैरागिनि or °गिनी *f. ascetic*, of बैरागी; मालिनि or °नी *f. gardener*, of माली m.; धोबिनि or °नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी m.; कोङ्डिनि or °नी *f. leper*, of कोङ्डी, etc. Or animals; हाथिनि or हथिनी *f. elephant*, of हाथी m. Again in ऊ; नउरिनि or नउइनी *f. barber*, of

नांगी m.; पहरिनि or °नी *watchman's wife*, of पहरा, etc.; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पंडितन् or °नी *wife of a pāṇḍita a kind of brahman*; चौबाइन् *woman of the चौबे caste*; दुवाइन् *woman of the दुवे (m.) caste*; ठकुराइन् *lady of ठकुर lord, chief*; चौधराइन् *wife of a चौधरी head-man*; पंडियाइन् *wife of a पंडि priest*; गुरुबाइन् *wife of a गुरु teacher*; पंडिताइन् *wife of a पंडित scholar*; बनियाइन् *woman of the बनिया trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a पुरोहित family priest*.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन् *wife of a मेहतर (pers. مہتم) sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a सईس (arab: سعیس) groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in श; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a सेठ merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिण् or सेठिणी or सेठिपी; but E. H. कोटिनि *wife of a कोटी weaver*, W. H. कोटिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोटिपी or °टिपी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has इण् as सेठीण्, कोटीण्, बाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोऽण् or कोऽप्पण्, बाघण् or बाघेण्, धोबण् or धोबेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or आनी, as बाघिनी, धोबानी, कामारनी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. इ is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to इ, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. इ of the 1st set, 1st group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनी; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. माली, Mg. माली, E. H. deest (*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिपी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. श added, Skr. मालिकः

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिए, E. H. मालौ; fem. Skr. मालिणीका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिश्चा, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form मालौ, but not a weak form *मालू or *मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनारू has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or °रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोष्ट्रालिश्चा, Skr. सुवर्णकाहिका fem. of सुवर्णकार्जः pleon. for °कार्जः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोष्ट्रालिष्पी or °लिष्पिश्चा = Skr. सुवर्णकाहिष्पी or (pleon.) °हिष्पिका, fem. of सुवर्णकाहो (base °काहिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनारू, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनारू might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोष्ट्राले, Skr. सुवर्णकार्जः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as आधिनि *tigress* from m. आधू, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याधृ, f. व्याधी. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चोबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउबेहपो, Skr. चतुर्बेदिनी; in पँगाइन् and पंडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पँगा, पंडिया, Mg. पंडिअए, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्रानी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्सी *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्सा, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रस्मिः or pleon. रस्मिकः (or रस्मकः of रस्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not vice versa, the E. H. masc. रस्सा formed from the E. H. fem. रस्सी (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

Eleventh Group.

263. Com.gen. अव्. Masc. आ or अवौ. Fem. अरौ.

The form अव् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पञ्चव्,

m. पञ्चा or पञ्चवाँ, f. पञ्चईँ fifth, of पञ्च five; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसईँ tenth, of दस ten; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहईँ twelfth, of बारह twelve, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ second, of दुइ two; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ third, of तीनि three; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ fourth, of चारि four; छठा or छठव् or छठवाँ sixth, of छ six; बोसा or बोसव् or बोसवाँ twentieth, of बीस् twenty, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ईँ (S. Ch. 195); M. आवा, f. आवी, n. आवेँ or (from 19th) आवा, आवी, आवे (Man. 42. 44); H. H. आवाँ, f. आवीँ; W. H. आवोँ, f. आवोँ; P. आवाँ or आमाँ, f. आवीँ or आमीँ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) आमो, f. आमी, n. आमुँ (Ed. 48); S. आँ, f. ईँ; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचईँ; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवीँ, n. पाँचवेँ, but विसावा, f. विसावीँ, n. विसावेँ twentieth; W. H. पाँचवाँ, f. पाँचवोँ; P. पंजवाँ or पंजमाँ, f. पंजवीँ or पंजमोँ; G. पांचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुँ; S. पंजोँ, f. पंजीँ.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final ा of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमए, f. अमिना, Ap. Mg. अबैए, f. अबिंशा (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. आवाँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. आरूँ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पञ्चमय or पञ्चवैए, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पञ्चमिना or पञ्चविंशा, E. H. पचईँ. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. वीसदमरै (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. आ to the base and be = Skr. *विंशकमकः, Mg. *वीसमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means twentieth; but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवाँ, छठवाँ, बोसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बोसा, etc.

Improper Suffixes.

267. The suffixes of the following groups are "in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोऽहार् *potter* of *कोऽहू (Skr. कुम्म, E. H. कुम्); क॒हा॒र् *porter*, of *क॑हू (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. क॑ध्); रोक्षासा *lachrymose*, of *रोदू (Skr. रोट्); 2) that the various suff. (exc. आहट्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

Twelfth Group.

268. Com. gen. स् or सर्. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. दृसर्, m. दुसरा, f. °री *second* (lit. twice removed, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुर् *two*; m. f. तीसर्, m. तिसरा, f. °री *third* (lit. thrice moved, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन् *three*; m. चौस् or चउस् or f. चौसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. four times moved or turned).

* 270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. दृज्ञो or दृज्ञो; P. दृज्ञा or दृज्ञा = Pr. दुइज्ञश्चो or दुइश्चो (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. बीञ्चो or बीञ्जो, G. बीञ्जो, Pr. विइञ्चश्चो (H. C. 1, 94) or बीञ्चश्चो (H. C. 1, 248) or विइञ्जश्चो (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीञ्जो or तीञ्जो, P. तीञ्चा or तीञ्चा, S. ट्रीञ्चो or ट्रीञ्जो, G. तीञ्जो, = Pr. तइञ्चश्चो (H. C. 1, 101) or तहञ्जश्चो (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. दृसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृतः *moved*, in A. Mg. सलिए or सलिअ, which in Gd. becomes सर् by the successive quiescence of the final श and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र् (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सलिअए, Skr. सृतकः; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सलिइआ, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. *द्विसृतः (i. e., द्वि: + सृत), A. Mg. दृसलिए, E. H. दृसर्.

Thirteenth Group.

272. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1) | अर् or र् | अरा or रा | अरी or री |
| 2) | आर् | आरा | आरी |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमार् or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. of us), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोँहार् or m. तोँहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. of you), of तोँह् *you*; m. f. मोर् or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine*, of *मो I; m. f. तोर् or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of *तो thou. Again in nouns; e.g., m. f. गँवार् or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गँव् *village*; m. f. चिन्हार् or m. चिन्हरा *an acquaintance* (lit. of a mark, marked), f. चिन्हरी *acquaintance*; भिकार् *beggar*, of भीक् *alms*; perhaps also हथियार् *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भ्रष्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes कर्, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix कर् still exists in the M. गँवकर् *villager* (Man. 113), लोउकर् (H. लोडिल्) *mischiefous*, of लोउ (Man. 114); चिपलुंकर् *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. आर्, आरा, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घरर् *domestic* or of a house, of घर् *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुँहारा *your*, गँवार् *villager*.

Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1)		आर्	—	आरा	आरी
2)		—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी
3)		कार्	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and इ are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something“. They are of a limited number. Thus the 1st set in सोनार्, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोँहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम् *pot*; कहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; अंधार् or अंधियार् or अंधारा, f. °री, or अंधियारा m.,

f. °री *dark* or *darkness*, of शंधा *dark*. The 2nd set in पुजारी, f. पुजारिनि or °रिनो *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3^d set in कुटकार् or °रा or °री *deliverance*, of कुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation.* The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार् or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °री, Mg. कुम्भशाले or °ली or कुम्भाले or °ली, E. H. कोऽहार् (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजालिए, E. H. पुजारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

Fifteenth Group.

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)		क्	का	की
2)		कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ *wood*; घरकै or घरका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर *house*; बनकै or बूनका, f. की *wild*, of बन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठु; वेड्होचो *of the jungle*, of वेड्हि (Tr. 91); again Konkaní ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे[°] *there* (Man. 113); again G. पो in S. चोरापो *thievish*, of चोरु *thief*, or बातूपो *oral*, of वातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मार्का *given to beating*, of मार् *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a पाटिल् village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पित्रका *paternal*, of पित्र *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a हारी peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खाजरा *itch-producing*, of खाज् (Man. 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोऽु is not गोऽे but गोऽु; similarly of वेदि it is not वेदै, but वेदि (Tr. 123, 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), उ in उपो, औ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अव or उव, contracted to य, ई, etc.), just as in M. मल्लपण् *goodness*, of मला + पण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	—	आस्	
2)	आसा	आसी	

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything“, and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous“, from an. other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. °सी *sleepy*, of नीँदू *sleep*; उंधास् *sleepiness*, °सा m., °सी f. *sleepy*, of उँधू *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d^{lo}*, of मूतू *urin*; हगास् *desire to stool*, °सा m., °सी f. *desirous of d^{lo}*, of हगू *excrement*; चुदास् f. *lasciviousness*, °सा m., °सी f. *lascivious*, of चोरू *copulation*; पेटास् *gluttony*, of पेटू *belly*; कटासा m., °सो f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काटू *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोआस् f. *inclination to weep*, रोआसा m., °सी f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire or tendency to be sweet*), of मीठू *sweet*; ऊचास् f. *height*, of ऊचू *high*; तुरास् *coldness*, of तुरू (H. H. तुरू) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gds. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वाँस् or वाँछ् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वाँसा or वाँछा *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुदवाँसा *lilidinous*. In

the suff., क् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to आ. Thus Skr. निद्रावाञ्छा, Pr. निदूवंशा, E. H. निँदास्; Skr. रोट्काञ्छकः, Mg. लोअवंछए or लोअञ्छए, E. H. रोन्नासा. The change of क् to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gds. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun आप्ना *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पियासा m., °सी f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियास्). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. भुज्ञा, Pr. भुहुक्षा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखो f. *hungry* = Skr. भुज्जितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and झटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or झट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

284.

Set.

Fem.

Fem.

- | | | |
|----|--------------|-----|
| 1) | आहट् or आवट् | ओटी |
| 2) | आवर्त् | ओती |

The forms in इ are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीठ् *sweet*; गर्माहट् *warmth*, of गर्म् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रुखाहट् *roughness*, of रुख् *rough*; कुम्राहट् *bitterness*, of कुम्रा *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the चमार् caste*; बपोती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father*; सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सगा *kin, related* (= Skr. सार्वं *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); हिनोति *humility, supplication*, of होन् *destitute*; हयौटी *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand*.

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms आत् or आतु (or अत्) or आठो (probably for *आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिरात्, *boyhood*, of चोक्तु; उम्रपायात् *debtor*, of उम्रणो *debt*; भर्तु *porter*, of भर्ती *load*; पापगठो *damp*, of पापा *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to इट् (= *आयट्) as in रामोट् *angry*, of राम् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत् neut., and वार्ता fem. or वार्ता neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टी or वट् (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत् (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टी or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटी, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and आटो (contracted for अवटी or अउटो, cf. § 78, for आवटी, § 25) or, with ह् substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or आटो. Thus Skr. *सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चश्ववट्टे or सच्चश्ववट्टिआ, E. H. सच्चावट् or सच्चोटी; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or °वार्ता, Pr. चम्मश्वारश्ववट् or °वत्ता, E. H. चम्मावट् or °वत् (for *चम्मावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. आत् arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आतु, M. अवट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्तः, Pr. वट्टो or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुब्रौता or दा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर् + वृत्तकः *living in gobar or cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or °वंत् (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of म् and त्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनी माटी. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is त्; and vice versa.

Eighteenth Group.

289. Com. gen. सू. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form सू is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness“. Thus आपुस् f. (H. H. आप्स) *kindred* (lit. like self); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे “among themselves, of आप self; पेसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an anná*, of पाइ or पाई *a pice* (lit. like the páda or quarter of a weight of gold, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. like water), of पानी *water*; m. ऐकसा, f. °सी *similar, identical* (lit. like one), of ऐक *one*.

291. *Affinitics.* These suff. exist. in all Gds. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से० or, less curtailed, com. gen. सरू; e. g., काढसरू, c. g. *blackish*, of काढा *black*; m. लहानसा, f. °सी, n. °से० *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सो, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. ऊँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिडियाँ *rather blue birds*, बडे से घोडे *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)¹). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine*; मुक् सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a pàndit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथे ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as क्षोट् ऐक् (usually spelled क्षोटेक्) or क्षोट् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोक् or थोर् ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत् ऐसन् *rather many*.

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. प्रस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश like, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन्, which is the same as Skr. इदृश (§§ 111.458). Skr. सदृशः becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh: 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिए (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह, with ह् as in तेहूह् H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = *तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृशः). The latter becomes in Gd. *सरिश, *सरि, whence M. सर् or, by eliding र् (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृशः, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशकः = A. Mg. सरिसर् or Ap. Mg. *सइशए, contracted *सइशा or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिशा, Ap. *सइशिशा, E. H. contracted *सइई or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भया or भइशा been = Mg. भविशए, Skr. भूतः; E. H. गा or गया or गइशा, Ap. Mg. गइशए, Skr. गतः; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइशउ, Skr. कृतः; see § 307; E. H. स् or सर् = A. Mg. सरिए, Skr. सृतः (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् about ten, some ten.

Nineteenth Group.

293. Com. gen. वार् or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in आ and इ are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवार् or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. cow-keeper, cowherd, of गो cow; घटवार् or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. wharf-keeper, wharfinger, of घट landing-place; नाश्रोवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. boat-keeper, boat-man, of नाश्रो boat; m. कपडावारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant; दिल्लीवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. belonging to or native of Delhi, etc. Even with foreign words; as बकस्त्वारा or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. box-keeper, pedlar.

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. दूषितयाला holding or wearing a दूषि cap) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दृधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वाको m., वाकी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाको, दोपीवाको.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवार् or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °ली (in अनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259, 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

First Group.

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अता. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in आ and इ are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

Note: Observe, in adding these suff., that य् is inserted after इ, and optionally त् after उ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो *be*.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअत् or चूबत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअत् or रोबत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in इ is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as कर्तिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of करति + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. *अन्त् (only in the obl. f. अंत, Sn. 28); II. H. m. अता, f. अतो; W. H. m. अतु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or हंदी, f. अंदो or हंदो (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अतो, n. अतूँ (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अन् or m. अता, f. अतो, n. अते" (Man. 63. 73); O. II. m. अंतो or अंत् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., करु doing, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अन् (or अन्त); in Pr. अंत (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अंद (II. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अंत, f. अंती (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. अ added, m. अंतए, f. अंतिआ; and E. H. m. f. अन् or m. अता, f. अतो (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंत, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसंत; E. H. हसत्; again Skr. *हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. *हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसंतिआ, E. H. हसतो. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अंदओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन् (or अन्त) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. लात् is = Mg. लंत or लाअंते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देंते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = *दयंते, Skr. ददत् (or *ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हवंते or भवंते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवन्.

Second Group.

302.	Set.	Com.	gen.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.							
	1)	इल्	or	अल्	—	इलि	or	अलि	इला	or	अला	इली	or	अली
	2)	इअ	or	इ	अ	इ			आ			ई		

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल् are peculiar to the Maithili and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) ई or ई to Baiswári in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

Note: Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that य्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally एँ after ऊ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither एँ nor एँ is inserted.

303. These suff. are used* to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढल् or पढिल् *read*, of R. पढ़ *read*; पैयल् or पैइल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूशल् or चूबल् or चूइल् *dripped*, of R. चू० *drip*; रोम्ल् or रोबल् or रोइल् *wept*, of R. रो० *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा० *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. अलि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यो० I *laughed*, of हसिश + त०; खाइस *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स०; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स०, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसो f. *laughed*; पढा m., पढो f. *read*; खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

Note: This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. कर् do, P. P. 1) कहल् or कहल् or कैल्, or 2) किहच० or किहि० or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धर् place, P. P. 1) धहल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धहच० or धिहि० or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. placed* — R. मर् die, P. P. 1) मुहल् or मुअल् or 2) मुइच० or मुइ० or Bs. मुआ; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा go, P. P. 1) गाइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गदच० or गड० or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो be; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भदच० or भड० or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे give, P. P. 1) दिहल् or 2) दिहच० or दिहि० or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले take, P. P. 1) लिहल् or 2) लिहच० or लिहि० or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आक् come, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइच० or आइ० or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पाक् obtain, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइच० or पाइ० or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gds., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gd. and S. Gd. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय् (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. आ m., इ f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पड़िला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इअ (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. आ m., इ f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. अला or इला m., अली or इली f., अले^० or इले^० n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोउला or सोउला = E. H. क्षोउल् or क्षोउलिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय् (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इब् (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एब् (= Ap. इचउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. आ m., इ f.; in W. H., st. f. यो or यो m., इ f.; in P., st. f. इआ m., इ f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. यो m., इ f., यु n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or *इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इओ or यो m., इ f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or इ or इ, or st. f. यो m., इ f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pash्तु* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृत); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= *करितः, B. करिल्), st. f. *karalai* (= *करितकः, O. करिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

Note: Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or जो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. जो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पढ़लेला, G. पढ़लो, S. पढ़िश्वलु or पढ़िश्वजो, Mw. पढ़योजो or पढ़ोजो, N. पढ़याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पढ़ला, G. पढ़यो, S. पढ़िश्वो, Mw. पढ़यो, N. पढ़यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gd. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिदा or दिदा *seen* (Pr. दिदूओ, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिना (Ld. 66); G. *दीठे *seen*, पेठे *entered* (Pr. पड़ूओ, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. उठे *seen*, पेठे *entered*, लाघे *obtained* (Pr. लठओ H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लठधकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50.—The suff. इत becomes in Pr. either इद which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इत्ता which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसित H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसितो; Ap. धक्तित H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इतव्य = Ap. इत्वा H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इद further changes in E. and S. Gd. to इल and अल (§ 109). The only instances of this change of द् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कदे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गदे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मदे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*¹⁾ and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Śábari²⁾ and Avantí, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gd.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इत्ता. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. sg.: 1) Mg. m. इटे, f. इटा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इटए, f. इटिना; these result in the E. H.

1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that द् first changed to त् and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कदे, गदे, मदे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कदे, गदे, मदे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that द् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral त्, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Śábari (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or अल्, f. इलि or अलि or इल् or अल्; and m. इला or अला, f. इली or अली. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इअए, f. इइआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इअ or (dropping अ) इ, and m. इआ or (suppressing इ) आ, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः: *walked*, Mg. चलिटे, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिय् or चलिव्¹), E. H. चलिअ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए मिह or चलिअ मिह, Ap. चलिअउ (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चलयौ". Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलिअहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चलयेस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिएँ. Again Skr. चलितकः: *walked*, Mg. चलिदए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिअए, P. चलिअआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिअओ, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिअओ or चलयौ, W. H. चलयौ or चलयो, S. चलिअओ or चलयौ, G. and N. चलयो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms.* Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खादू eat; Skr. (a and c) खादितः: or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइटे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइअए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइल् or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for *खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल् or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for *खया = *खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) काहदा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइदउ or (d) खाइअउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाधो (for *खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायौ or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् take; Skr. (a) लब्धः or (β) लव्यकः, Pr. (α) लडो (H. C. 3, 134) or (β) लठओ, S. (β) लधो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) *लभितः: or (b) *लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिटे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिअए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहेला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for *लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e.g., बाँधीव् bound or built, from R. बाँधू bind (see Man. 107. 114).

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेला (Sn. 36), M. (b) लयाला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइश्चा or लिश्चा (Ld. 66) or (b) लीता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form *लइतए or *लहितए, or made after दिजा given, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिशउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for *लइदो) or लोधो (contr. like काधो eaten, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गङ्गिष्ठो = Pr. *गङ्गिष्ठो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. श्रिणितव्यं = Pr. *श्रितिव्यं = Skr. अतिसुकृकम्) or (d) लेवो (for *लइश्चो) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् give (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (a) हितः (for *धितः) or (β) हितकः, Ap. (a) °हितु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) °हितउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gd. deest; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. *दधितः, Mg. (a) *दहिदे or (b) *दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) *दहिए or (d) *दहिशए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for *दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) दल्ला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दिजा (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लीता taken, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) *दहिदउ or (d) *दहिशउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ place; Skr. धृतः, Gd. deest; or Skr. *धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिश्चो) or (d) धलिशए, E. H. (a) धइल् or धरिल् or (b) धइला or धरिला or (c) धइ or धरि or Bs. (c) धर or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल् or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिश्चा; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरिशउ, W. H. (d) धर्यै or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिश्चो or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ do; Skr. (a) कृतः or (β) कृतकः, Ap. (a) किटु (H. C. 4, 446) or (β) किंशउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (β) किश्चो (Tr. 277); again Skr. *करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिशए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कइल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कइला or (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. इ, for *किइ = कइ = कारि, formed after लिहि taken, दिहि given)

or Bs. कर् or (d) करा, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) करा (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) कला (for *कइला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for *कया = कद्या, see S. below, formed after दिया given, लिया taken, मिया gone), P. (d) कोता (perhaps for *कहतए, like लौता taken, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करित्त or (d) करित्र or कियत (H. C. 4, 378 = कइत्र, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कोटो or कोधो or कोनो or कोन्हो (formed like लोटो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्ये or (d) Br. कर्यौ or कियो (for *कयो = कइओ, see below S.), G. (b) कीधे (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्ये, S. (d) कयो (for *कइओ, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् go; Skr. (a) गतः or (β) गतकः, Mg. (a) गदे or गडे or (β) गदए or गडए, O. (a) गल् or (β) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) *गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिदए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिशए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = *गमिशयाए = *गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गइल् or (b) गइला or (c) गइ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गइਆ, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गिया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गइआ), P. गइआ or गिआ (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमित्र or गइत्र or contr. गयत (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गोयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू be; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हुओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gd. deest; or Skr. *भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविदए or (e) हविदए or (f) हुविदए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविन्नो = परिमूर्तो) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविशए or (l) हैविशए or (m) हुविशए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुइआ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुहिआ), E. H. (a) भइल् or (d) भइला or (g) भइ or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हउ or हौ (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for *हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भया (= भइआ) or contr. भा, B. (b) हइल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हइया (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होइल् or (f) होइला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for *क्याला or *हृला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइआ (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) *भविश्वत् or (l) हविश्वत् or (m) हुविश्वत्, W. H. (k) Br. भवौ (for *भवौ) or भयौ (= भइयौ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवौ or भयौ or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. हियो (suppressing अ between हवि^०) or हुइयो (?) Kl. 236) or (m) हुवौ or हुयौ (Kl. 210, for हुइयौ) or contr. हौ (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवौ (Ed. 69) or (m) होयौ (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुओ (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भयौ (= भइयौ), Km. (m) हुइयौ (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयौ (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ die; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (a) मदे or (β) मर् (Wb. Bh. 156) or (γ) मते (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुश्चो (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मञ्; or Skr. *मर्तिः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिन्दए or (h) मुलिन्दए, Ap. (f) मुल्ब्र (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुश्चा (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मर्तिल् or (b) मुइल् or (c) मर्तिला or (d) मुइला or (e) मर्ति or (f) मुइ or (g) Bs. मर् or (h) मुश्चा, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for *मइला), H. H. (h) मुश्चा (for मुइया, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मर्तिश्वत् or (h) मुर्तिश्वत् or contr. मुश्वत् (H. C. 4, 442, for *मुइश्वत्, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यौ or मर्ये or (h) मुश्चौ or मुश्चो (for *मुइयौ), G. मुबो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मर्तियो or मर्यो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् come and प्राप् (= प + आप्) obtain; Skr. आपुः or प्रापुः, Pr. आप्तो or पत्तो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gd. deest; or Skr. *आपितः or *प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविदए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविष्ठ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविश्वत्, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) आइला or (c) आइ or आय् or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)¹⁾, M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for *आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइआ), P. (d) आइआ; again Ap. Pr. (c) आवित् or आइत् (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविश्वत् (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइस्त् = आविश्वत्?), W. H. (d) आयो or आयो (for आइयौ), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आविस्, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविश् enter (आ + विश्).

Third Group.

308.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	०	इब् or अब्	* इबा or * अबा	इबि or अबि
2)		आब् or आव्	आवा	अवाई or आई or आवट्
3)		अब्ब् or आब्	—	—
4)		अवद्या or अद्या	—	—
5)		अवार् or अवाल्	अवारा or अयाला	अवारी or अवाली
6)		आर् or आल्	—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and उ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इबे or अबे or (by elision of ब्) contr. ऐ. — The suff. आवट् is sometimes wrongly spelled आहट्, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहट् of § 284.

Note: Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो be, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for the “it is to be done” of a thing is equal to the “doing” of a thing. Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होब् to be, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हस्य or हसिय् what is to be laughed at or to laugh, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढ्य or पढिय् what is to be read or to read, of R. पढ़ *read*; कर्य or करिय् what is to be done or to do, of R. कर् *do*; छूत्य or छूहय् or छूइय् what is to be touched or to touch, of R. छू *touch*; बोन्य or बोवय् or बोइय् what is to be sown or to sow, of R. बो *sow*. But खाइय् or खाय् what is to be eaten or to eat, of R. खा *eat*; कराइय् or कराय् what is to be caused to be done or to cause to do, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीयय् or पीय् what is to be drunk or to drink, of R. पी *drink*; देय् or देइय् what is to be given, debt or to give, of R. दे *give*; होय् or होइय् what is to be, future, possible or to be, of R. हो *be*. Thus मोक्ष or मो से उ कर्य आटे by me that is to be done, or actively मैं कर्बोँ (=कर्ब + ऊँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as कर्बिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for कर्बि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

" 311. The second set is used to form nouns of act. Thus आवाइ *coming*, of R. आवे *come*; ज्ञावाइ *going*, of R. ज्ञावे *go*; स्वावाइ *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाइ or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूर् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाइ or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सीच् *irrigate*; डोलाव् or डोलाइ or डोलावट् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; लराइ or लरावट् *fighting*, of R. लर् or लड् *fight*; चलाव् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलावे *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखावाइ or रखाइ *wages for keeping*, of R. रख् *keep*; कटावाइ *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनावाइ or बनाइ *or* बनावट् *making or price for making* of C. R. बनावे *make*; लिखावाइ or लिखाइ *wages for writing or dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखावे *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., what is to be put on), of R. पहिरे *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलावे *call*, but बुलावाइ, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढावे *sacrifice* (lit., cause to ascend).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus खाकू or खङ्कू *glutton* or खवइया or खैया *eater*, of R. खा *eat*; उराकू or उरङ्कू or उरालू or उरवाला or उरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. उर *fear*; रखारू or रखारा or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखिया *guardian*, of R. रख *keep*; कागरू or कागलू *quarrelsome*, of R. कागरु *quarrel*; छवइया *thatcher*, of R. छा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढवइया *rider*, of R. चढ़ *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देखु *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन् *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनावु *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारी *guarding*.

313. *Affinities.* The first and second sets occur in all Gds. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.¹⁾. Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इबू (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of इ) contr. आ (as “gerund or verbal noun”, S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इय (= इबे = इए) is used also in an active sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इबू (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौ or अबो or इबौ or इबो or Mw. अबो or अबो or इबो (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबो, f. अबी, n. अबु, and forms the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोउबो हतो lit., by me he should be delivered; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबु neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., छोउबु to deliver. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., छडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. औ, a strong form, contr. for इड़ू = इबू (Man. 61, 5. 71);

1) The so-called P. „gerund“ (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in उआ m., इ f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोऽृ॒ to loose (for *सोडिङ्ग = Mw. छोडिण्ग॑, G. छोउँग॑)¹). — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) आवे॑ neut. (called “supine” in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. आवया (= E. H. आवे॑) or (by eliding वे॑) contr. आया (= E. H. ऐ॑, B. इय॑). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in आवा m., आवी॑ f., आवे॑ n.; e. g., M. मि सुटावा I may be loosed (lit. I am to be loosed), or म्य॑ शोउवा I may loose him (lit. by me he may be loosed or by me he is to be loosed); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to र् in the 5th and 6th sets; e. g., W. H. रुखाल् or °ला, f. °ली॑; कगड़ाल्. The 5th set occurs in M. as आवाड् or आवाढ् (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाढ् pitiful, of R. कन्ह moan); and in G. as आवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., शोउवानो he shall deliver, of R. शोइ॑ Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called “potential” (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे शोउवानो हतो lit., by me he should be delivered. The sixth set occurs in M. as आड् or आढ् (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 6⁰; e. g., खेड् frolicsome, of R. खेल् play; खाजाढ् itching, of R. खाज् itch); in S. as आरो or आर॑ (Tr. 53; e. g., धारारो or धोरार॑ pedlar, of R. धोर seek; पौजारो cotton-carder, of R. पिज् card).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gd. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. इच्चं॑ or इच्चं॑ (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. *एच्चं॑ or एच्चं॑ (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इच्चं॑ (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इब्॑ or आब्॑. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel उ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. इउ॑ or इउ॑ = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in उणा॑ = Pr. इउणा॑ or इउणा॑, Skr. *इत्वानम्.

with the pleon. अ added, Skr. इत्यकम्, Pr. एश्वरं or इश्वरं, Ap. Sr. (a) एवुं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एवा (= *एवुर or *एवुं, cf. § 54), W. Gd. (a) इबौं or शबौं or E. Gd. (b) इबा or शबा or Sa. Gd. (b) शावें (= *एवुं). Thus Skr. कर्त्तव्यम् (or *कर्तितव्यम्), Pr. करेश्वं or करिश्वं or करेवं or करिवं or करेवं, E. H. करिव् or करव्; again Skr. कर्त्तव्यकम्, Pr. करेश्वरं or करिश्वरं, Ap. (a) *करेवं or (b) करेवुं or (c) करेवा; Gd. (a) M. करावें, (b) W. H. करिबौं, (c) O. करिबा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवुं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. श्वार्दि is a comp. of the suff. श्वर् or श्वाव् + suff. आर्दि of § 220; and the suff. श्वद्या a comp. of suff. श्वाव् + pleon. suff. ऐया (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. श्वार् or श्वारा a comp. of suff. श्वाव् + pleon. suff. श्वर् or श्वरा (§ 209); and the suff. श्वारट् a comp. of suff. श्वाव् + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. श्वार्दि) or त्वम् (or fem. *त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इत्यता or त्वम् = Mg. इश्वरता or Ap. *एवुर्दा, E. H. श्वारट्; the change of त् to ट् (as in पट्टपां for पत्तन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. श्वार् or श्वाहट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्ता = Pr. वृदा. — Again the suff. आर्दि, श्वद्या and श्वार् (or श्वालू) are contr. respectively from the suff. श्वार्दि, श्वद्या and श्वारा (or श्वाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. श्वाया for श्वाया (§ 313). — The suff. त्वा, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. आ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gds., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. ऐया and श्वरा = Ap. Pr. श्वश्र (= शक्षे) and श्वउश्र, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gd., to ऊ or ल् or र् or न्. E. g., Ap. रुल्लेश्वरउ (Skr. रुचितव्यः), W. H. रुख्वालौ or E. H. °रा; Ap. खेल्लेश्वरउ, M. *खेलवारू or contr. खेलारू. Similarly the originally pass. suff. श्वनीया (of the part. fut.) and इत् (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gd. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. तव्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated“; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective“, *operativus*, *contemplativus*, *negativus*, etc.

Fourth Group.

315. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
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|-----|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1) | अन् | अना | अनी |
| 2) | आवन् or आन् | आउना or आैना | आउनी or आैनी |
| 3) | अनिहार् | अनिहारा | अनिहारी |
| 4). | — | अनेकारा or °ला | अनेकारी or °ली |

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The notions of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gds., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देन् or देना or देनी what is to be given, a debt, of R. दे give; लेन् or लेना or लेनी what is to be taken, a receipt, of R. ले take, as in the phrase 'लेन्-देन् intercourse, traffic; बाजन् or बजना what is to be played, a musical instrument, of R. बज् be played; ओङ्ना or ओङ्नी what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet, of R. ओङ् put on, wear; बिछावन् or बिछउना or बिछौना or f. °नी what is to be spread, bed-clothes, of R. बिछ् or बिछाव् spread; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी what is to be played

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with, a toy, of R. खेल् play; भर्तना or भरौना what is to be loaded, a load, of R. भराव् load; कहोनी (H. H. कहानी) what is to be said, a story, of R. कह् speak; पहिरावन् or पहिरौनी what is to be put on, garments, of R. पहिर् put on; इउनी or शौनी encampments, barracks (lit., what is to be thatched), of R. छा thatch; पठन् or पठनी what is to be read, spell, charm, of R. पढ़ read. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार् or m. °रा, or m. होनेवारा, f. °री what is to be, possible, future, and अन्होना impossible, of R. हो (but होनेहारी possibility, futurity).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. कर्निहार्, m. °रा one who is going to do or a doer, of R. कर् do; m. f. पठनिहार् or m. पठनिहारा or पठनेवारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली one who is going to read, a reader, of R. पढ़ read; m. f. देनिहार् or m. °रा or m. देनेवाला or °रा, f. °लो or °री one who is going to give, a giver, of R. दे give, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. °नी jester, of R. हँस् laugh; उर्तना or उरैना, f. °नी coward, timid, of R. उर fear; सुहउना or सुहैना, f. °नी pleasing, of R. सुहाव् please; घिनउना or घिनैना, f. °नी disgusting, of R. घिनख् nauseate; पहिरउनी or पहिरैनी a fire-woman, of C. R. पहिराव् attire. The fem. in नी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in आन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी a spade (lit., digger), of R. खोद् dig; लेखनी style, pen, of R. लेख् write, engrave; कतरनी scissors, of R. कतर् cut; सुननी sense of hearing, of R. सुन् hear, etc.; and masc. उठान् area, court, of R. उठ rise; बकान् place for ensnaring, of R. बाक् or बकाव् ensnare; टिकान् halting-place, of R. टिक् halt.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी speaking, speech, of R. कह् speak; सुनन् or सुननी hearing, of R. सुन् hear; लेन् or लेनी taking, of R. ले take; करन् or करनी¹⁾ action, of R. कर् do; रहन् or रहनी¹⁾ existence, living, of R. रह् remain, live; होनी¹⁾ occur-

1) Also करतब्, रहतब्, होतब् or होनिहार्, which are clearly part.

rence, accident, of R. हो be; सुकावन् direction, advice, of R. सुकाव् show; मनावन् agreement, respect, of R. मान् respect or मनाव् persuade; बज्जनी dispute, of R. बज् fight; लिखनी writing, of R. लिख् write; सिखावन् instruction, of R. सिखाव् teach, etc. Especially 'the suff. आन्; as उडान् flying, of R. उड् fly; कुदान् leaping, of R. कृद् leap; चढान् ascent, riding, of R. चढ़ mount, ride; डोलान् or डोलान् movement, of R. डोल् move; बहान् sitting, session, of R. बहू sit; धरान् holding, of R. धर् hold; पकान् seizure, of R. पक् scize; सिचान् irrigation, of R. सोच् irrigate; उठान् rising, of R. उठ् rise; चलान् clearance, of R. चलाव् dispatch; लडान् fighting, of R. लड् fight, etc.

Note: उडान् flying, etc. may be also उडाव्, उडाइ, उडावू, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1st and 2nd sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. अन्, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. अन् no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् beverage, दान् giving, मान् respect, गवन् or गमन् going, बधावन् presents, etc., whose roots *पा, *दा, *मा, *गम्, *बर्धाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. अन् or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4th set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 अनवारो or अनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to अनार् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. अपार् or अपारा (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनोऽ॒ अनी॑ in Br. and अनोऽ॒ or अनो॑ in Mw.), P. (अपा॑ or अना॑ Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अपो॑ (called “gerund” in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in B. अन॑ or अनि॑ or आन॑ or आनि॑ (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अपा॑ or आपा॑ (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि॑, S. अणु॑ or इणु॑ (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु॑. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनो॑, f. अनो॑, and S. m. अपो॑ or इपो॑, f. अपो॑ or इपो॑ (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनीय, which in Pr. becomes अपीञ्च (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अपिञ्च (as in पापीञ्च or पापिञ्च *water* = Skr. पानीय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अपाञ्च (or अपाय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 443. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अपीञ्च or अपाञ्च, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उञ्च or उत् or उञ्चञ्च, arise the forms अपाउत् or अपाउञ्चञ्च, which become अपार् or अनार् or अपारा॑ or अनारो॑ in M. and G.; and the form अपाअउञ्चञ्च, which (inserting euph. क्) appears in S. as अनवारो॑, W. H. अनवालो॑; and the forms अपिअउञ्चञ्च or अपिअउञ्चञ्च, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहार् or अनिहारा॑. The simple Ap. form अपाञ्च (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना॑. The simple Ap. अपाहं॑, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनो॑ or अनो॑; and the Ap. inf. suff. अपाहिं॑ (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अने॑ or shortened अनि॑. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अपाञ्च) and अनीय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनीय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तत्. — The secondary suff. वाला or वांटा (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

Fifth Group.

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or औती.

The forms in इ are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a Root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुक्त् or चुक्ती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुन्त् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; बस्ती *dwelling, village*, of R. बस् *dwell*; भर्ती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भर् *fill*; चढती *rising, gain*, of R. चढ़् *rise*; बढती *increase*, of R. बढ़् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लगती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in बठ्त् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. *बढ़्; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. *बिन्. The second set in समुक्तवत् or समुक्तौती *explaining*, of R. समुक्तव् *explain*; कुटौती *release*, of R. कुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवतो; in G. श्रीती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, औती. Thus W. H. and P. समुक्तौती, G. समजूत्; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आपि or, with pleon. क added, आपिका; and in Pr. अती or अवता, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विर्जपिका, Mg. विन्दिशा, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. *वर्धापिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. वडुशा, E. H. बढती; or Skr. *अर्धापि: (of R. अर्ध), Mg. अडती (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)¹⁾, E. H. अउत्, M. अउत्, O., B., G., S. आउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes आञ्जड for the Skr. R.

H, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct ग्, the forms Pr. आवती or आवतिशा, E. H. आवत् or आवती might arise; thus Skr. *मनाप्तिका, Mg. *मणावतिशा, E. H. मनौती (for मनवती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

Sixth Group.

326. Com. gen. अ. Masc. आ. Fem. इ.

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus सूक् *sight*, of R. सूक् *see*; लयेर् f. *dragging* (W. H. लयेर्), of R. लयेर् *draggle*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. a *slap*, of R. चपेट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पकर् f. *seizure* (W. H. पकड़), of R. पकर् *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दउड़ f. or दउडा m. or दउडी f. *running, race*, of R. दउड़ *run*; रगड़ f. or रगडा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगड़ *rub*; फेर् m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर् *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पछताव् m. or पछतावा m. *repentance*, of R. पछताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ, and m. ओ or औ, f. इ; S. m. उ, f. अ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. भोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. मूल्, of R. मुल्; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेर् m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः, f. अा and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. आ,

व्याप्; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives आभट्; thus H. C. आभट्टृ, T. V. आभट्टृ. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. अथ्.

and m. आए, f. हआ; whence E. H. m. f. आ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. आ, f. ही (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेले or खेला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिआ, E. H. हँस् or हँसो etc.

Seventh Group.

330. Com. gen. ऊ or आऊ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in आव् take the suff. आऊ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, ऊ is added to आव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus ऊ in खाऊ *eater, glutton*, of R. खा; उचाऊ *vexatious*, of R. उचाऊ *vex*; मारू *fighter, beater*, of R. मारु *beat*; मूरू *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूरू *shave*; कारू *cutter, biter*, of R. कारू *cut, bite*; कारू *sweeper, broom*, of R. कारू *sweep* (W. H. काड़); जागू *vigilant*, of R. जागू *wake*; बिगाऊ *spoiler*, of R. बिगाऊ *spoil*, etc. Again आऊ; in कगाऊ *quarrelsome*, of R. कगाऊ *quarrel*; उडाऊ *spendthrift*, of R. उडाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाऊ *laborer, bread-winner*, of R. कमाव् *labor, earn*; टिकाऊ *stationary*, of R. टिकू *stop*; बिकाऊ *saleable*, of R. बिकू *sell* (*intrans.*); फुसलाऊ *coaxer, tempter*, of R. फुसलाव् *coax*. Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as उँकू or ताकू *robber*, of R. *उँकू *bite* or *overpower*.

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gd., but W. Gd., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have ऊ and आऊ; G. appears to have a weak form in ऊ, as खाऊ *eater*, काऊ *broom*, etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final ऊ or आऊ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोम्यतं, Mw. सोम्यो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त् or, with pleon. क added, तृक्; the त् of which has a tendency to change to ऊ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. ऊ or उओ (= *तुः or

*तुकः), W. Gd. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्ता *husband* (base भर्त्), Pr. भर्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gd. *deest* (E. H. has भर्ता॒, Pr. भर्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पित्), Pr. पित॑ or पितश्चो (H. C. 1, 131), P. पित॑ or पित॒; Skr. भाता *brother* (base भृत्), Pr. भात॑ or भातश्चो (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भात॑ or भातश्च (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भात॑ or भात॒ or भरात॑ or भरात॒ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भात॑, M. भात॑. Similarly Skr. दंष्टृकः (of R. दंश् or दंस्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. उङ्कुश्चो (cf. H. II. 2, 2 उङ्को = Skr. दृष्टः *bitten*), Ap. उङ्कुउ, W. Gd. डाकू *robber*. — The suff. त् was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इत्. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत् and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gd. Whence we have in Pr. इ॒त् or इ॒तश्चो and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gd. उ॑ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खप्तित्), Pr. खाइ॒त् or खाइ॒तश्चो, G. खात॑ or W. H. खात॑; Skr. मारित् *beater*, Pr. मारि॒त् or मारि॒तश्चो, G. मार॑ or W. H. मार॑, etc. — The suff. आ॒त् contains the caus. or denom. suff. आ॒प्; thus Skr. कर्मापयित् *worker*, Pr. कर्मावेउश्चो or कर्मावतश्चो, W. Gd. कर्मात॑, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कर्मातु *working* = Pr. कर्मावंतो or कर्मावंतो).

Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)		अ॒क्	अ॒का	अ॒क्षी
2)		आ॒क्	आ॒का	आ॒क्षी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus अ॒ठक् f. or अ॒ठक्का m. *sitting, seat*, of R. अ॒ठन् *sit*; कृसक् f. *pain*, of R. कृत् *tighten*; तड़क् f. *cracking, cleft*, तर्का *day-break*, of R. *तर् or तर्क् (W. H. तड़क्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. *कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. *क्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कृपक् f. or °की m. or

^०की f. *snatch, wink*, of R. *कृ॒ be quick (Skr. अध्यर्प् ?); कृष्टि f. or ^०का m. *twitch*, of R. *कृ॒ be quick (Skr. अध्यट् ?); कृष्टि f. *palpitation*, कृष्टिकी *partition, screen*, of R. कृ॒ split; कृष्टि m. *gate*, of R. कृ॒ split; सृष्टि f. *road*, of R. सृ॒ join ?, etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grazes*, of R. चर् *graze*; चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever*, चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move*; उडाक् m. or f. *runner, racer*, of R. उड् *run*; लाक् m. or f. or ^०का m., ^०की f. *quarrelsome*, of R. लर् (W. H. लइ) *fight*; उडाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged*, of R. उड् *fly*; पशाक् *swimmer*, पैशाकी *act or art of swimming*, of R. पश् *swim*, etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; but the W. Gds. have final ाौ or ाौ॒ for E. Gd. आ; and S. has आकु or आकू॒ for E. H. आकु॒ or आका॒ (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक्, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) क् and the nominal base क् (probably = कृत् *doing*, of R. कृ do) meaning *doing, agent*. On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक्, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in क्, the other being क्; e. g., Skr. कर्षक् = कर्ष + क् lit. *making a tightening*, E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्बेकरं॑ or अम्बेकरं॑ (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्बे + केरं॑), पडिकूलं॑ or पडिकूलं॑ (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं॑), मुङ्को॑ or मुञ्चो॑ (H. C. 2, 99 = मू॒ + क् lit. *made fast*, i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gd. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उडापकः, Mg. उडापके॑ or उडाआके॑, E. H. उडाक्, with elision of क् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindi grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. अब् or इब् (§ 308). Thus R. पढ़ from inf. पढ़न् to read; R. बूझ from inf. बूझन् to know; R. खा from inf. खाइन् or खाएँ to eat. In some cases, however, a व् or य् must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाहन् to obtain (for *पाचिब् § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयन् to live; R. चू from inf. चूक्न् or चूश्न् to drip; R. रो from inf. रोक्न् or रोश्न् to weep, etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3^d pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ए (or य); thus R. पढ़, from पढ़े he reads; R. बूझ, from बूझे he knows; R. पाव्, from पावै he obtains; R. खा, from खाय् he eats; R. जी, from जीयै he lives; R. चू, from चूएँ he drips; R. रो, from रोएँ or रोवै he weeps. Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पढ़न् to read and 3. sg. pres. conj. पढ़े he reads, both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पठिङ्ग, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पठ्य, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूझन् to know, it is only the 3. sg. बूझे he knows, which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बृज्ञ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-य-ते), to the original *(Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूझन् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as *बुधितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूझन्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूझ. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses चूँ and लूँ, where W. H. has चू़ and लू़ (see §§ 29, 30); e. g., E. H. परू fall, W. H. परू़; E. H. चरू walk, W. H. चलू़. Or E. H. has छू़ where M. has सू़ (see § 11); e. g., E. H. छुरू be loosed, छोडू loose, M. सुरू, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिलू or सीलू learn, M. शिलू, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बेसू sit, N. बसू, P. बहू, S. बिह (Skr. उपविष्ट्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूतू sleep (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहराकू call, W. H. पुकारू. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पसू see, M. पाहू see, but E. H. दिसू or देखू, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चलू, Skr. चल् walk; E. H. तपू, Skr. तप् be hot; E. H. जानू, Skr. ज्ञा know; E. H. करू, Skr. कृ do; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् sow; E. H. खा, Skr. खादू eat; E. H. चू़, Skr. श्युत् leak; E. H. कोपू, Skr. कुप् be angry (§ 148); E. H. बोलू, Skr. बदू speak; E. H. मलू, Skr. मृदू rub; E. H. तूटू or टूटू, Skr. त्रुट् break (§ 174); E. H. घरू, Skr. घर् rub; E. H. परिसू, Skr. स्पर्श् touch (§ 58, note); E. H. परासू, Skr. परिविष् distribute (§ 122, 5); E. H. देखू, Skr. दृश् see; E. H. उठू, Skr. उत्था rise; E. H. काँटू, Skr. अर्धटू sweep (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूलू forget, cf. Skr. भयर्; E. H. शाहू wish, cf. Skr. उत्साह (§ 173); E. H. बङ्हू sit, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट् (§ 173); E. H. पढू enter, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूतू sleep, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकार् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृत् (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञात् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञाप्; E. H. पलट् or पलत् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्यस्त (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पक्; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयैनम् (§ 69); E. H. कौँक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. धां कृ; E. H. ओँक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वम् कृ; E. H. करक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्द कृ; E. H. धौंक् *blow*, cf. Skr. धुंसं कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix“ into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class“ of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. आपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix“, they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खाद्; as 3^d sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाश्व or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाय्. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल् *walk* for Pr. चल्, Skr. चल्; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चलै. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix“, see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चृ leak for Pr. त्रु (तो), Skr. श्वृत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्वयति, Pr. त्रुश्वृ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोश्वृ, E. H. चूरे; or E. H. परोस् offer food for Pr. परिवेष्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेष्यति, Pr. परिवेस्व or परिवेस्व, E. H. परोसै (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो be for Pr. हुव, Skr. मू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवृ or होृ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होय् he is; but the original म् is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् been. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or उ, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो be for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. मू; E. H. भीङ् moisten for Skr. अम्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् rub for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलृ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. त्रुट् or ट्रुट् break for Pr. त्रुट्, Skr. त्रुट्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् be angry for Pr. कुप्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. शाह् wish for Pr. *उच्छाह्, see § 173; or E. H. कौट् sweep for Pr. अस्त्रह्, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into ten classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gd. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् know for Pr. जाण् and जा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IXth class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. जाणाए (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = जा + पा + इ) or जापाइ (Vr. 8, 23 = जाए + अ + इ); E. H. जानै; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. न् of the Vth cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-पो-इ) or चिणाइ or चुणाइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + अ + इ), E. H. चुनै; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. पाच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. त् of the IVth cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. पाचाइ (Vr. 8, 47 = पाच् + अ + इ), E. H. नाचै, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general“ tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gd. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gd. took its immediate origfn, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as जापिष्ठं (lit., Skr. *जानितम्) *known*, but also regularly पायं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. जातम्; or Pr. जापिडपा (lit., Skr. *जानित्वा) or regularly पाडपा (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. जात्वा *having known*; or Pr. जापाकेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. जापयति (lit. *जानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिपिहिइ or चिन्हिहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. *चिनिष्यति or *चिन्हिष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिनु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिब्रइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. *चिन्यते or Pr. *चिणुर्दिश्वइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुप्तइ (Spt. 46) or सुपार्दिश्वइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. *सुन्यते), but also regularly सुब्रइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. *श्रुत्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुपिडपा (lit., Skr. *सुनित्वा) or regularly सोडपा (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रूत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. पाकाकिष्ठइ (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. *नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिष्म (lit. *कर्य) or regularly करुच (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in अभ् which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. जानन् to know for Skr. ज्ञातव्यम् (lit. *ज्ञानितव्यम्); E. H. नाचन् to dance for Skr. नर्तितव्यम् (lit. *नृयितव्यम्), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

Note: In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class“; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the incorporation of the *passive suff.* ए, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press*, but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed*, and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed*, Pr. चत्पइ, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gd. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चार् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk*, as Skr. pass. चल्यते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लइ (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलइ H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चारै (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चरै), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सीच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिष्वति), Pr. सिच्चइ (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचइ H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सीचौचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

Note: In most cases of this kind also a change of „vice“ from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class“.* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gd. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the Ist (incl. VIth) and the Xth (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VIth (or Ist) and the other to the Skr. Xth cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VIth¹⁾ (or occasionally Xth) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the Ist cl. (cf. Wh. Spt. 59. Ls. 384); but it seems

substituting the suff. अ of the VIth (or Xth) for their proper class-suff. (उ of the Vth, ए of the VIIth, ओ of the VIIIth, एा of the IXth, ए of the IVth), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, एा) into अ, the characteristic of the VIth and Xth classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. अ of the VIth class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., base निनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VIth cl., by incorporating नु and changing ओ to अ, hence base चिपा, 3. sg. pres. चिपाइ (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the Vth cl., hence base प्राप्, 3. sg. pres. प्रप्तोति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by substituting the suff. अ of the VIth for नु, hence base पाप्, 3. sg. pres. पापृ (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भङ् *break* is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base भन्त्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ, hence base भञ्, 3. sg. pres. भञ्जै (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पीसेदि or पिसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VIIth into the Xth cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIIIth cl., hence base करूः 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist or Xth cl., by changing the suff. ओ of the VIIIth to अ, hence base °क्रै (i. e., क्र) or कर् or करे (i. e., करय), 3. sg. pres. °क्रइ (as in लुक्रइ Spt. 173 = Skr. लूकरोति) or करइ (Vr. 8, 13)

to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VIth cl. The Ist differs from the VIth cl. by *gutating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VIth does not gutate the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not gutate the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिपाइ, सुपाइ, where if they were of the Ist cl., it should be चेपाइ, सोपाइ; for the Rs. are, practically, चिपा, सुपा. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the gutation of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भञ्जै, पापृ. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gd.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or करेत् (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating ना and changing ञा to ञ, hence base ज्ञापा or ज्ञापो (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञापात् (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञापात् (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रहृ *seize* is in Skr. of the IXth cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by substituting their suff. अ (अय) for ना, hence base गेहृ or गेहै (i. e., गेह्य), 3. sg. pres. गेहृत् (Vr. 8, 15) or गेहैति (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IVth cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating अ, hence base पात्व or पात्वे, 3. sg. pres. पात्वत् (Vr. 8, 47) or पात्वेति (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence irregular base रोटि, 3. sg. pres. रोटिति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist cl., by substituting their suff. इ for the irreg. इ of the IInd cl., hence base रुद् or रोद्, 3. sg. pres. रुद्दित् or रुवद् (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोश्वद् or रोवद् (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by interpolating its suff. अ, hence base ज्ञापा, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञापात् (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. ज्ञात् H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VIth and Xth, into one, either by transferring the roots of the VIth into the Xth; or far more commonly by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the Xth into the VIth, through changing the Xth class-suff. ए into the VIth class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VIth cl. into the Xth; e. g., हसेत् (H. C. 3, 158), for हसह् (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; करेत् (H. C. 4, 337), for करह् (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नचेत् (Dl. 50), for नचह् (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the Xth cl. into the VIth; e. g., कहद् (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेत् (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतेत् (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेह् (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहद् (Spt. 260), for साहेत् (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दरिसेत्

(H. C. 3, 149), for दृश्येत्, Skr. दृश्यति, from R. दृश् see; or करावह (H. C. 3, 149), for करावेत् (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ do; or हसावह (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेत् (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् laugh; or भमावह (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेत् (H. C. 3, 151) he causes to roam, from R. भम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gd. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VIth of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुगाइ; E. H. पाचै = Pr. पाकद्; E. H. भनै = Pr. भंडद्; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसद् or पिंसद्; E. H. करै = Pr. करद्; E. H. जानै = Pr. जाणाइ; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेहह; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचह; E. H. रोए = Pr. रोअह; E. H. जाय् (W. H. जायै) = Pr. जाइ (or जाअह); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसद्; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहह; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतह; E. H. करावै = Pr. करावह; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावह, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी drink, चू drip, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VIth class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा go. Thus E. H. पीयै he drinks presupposes a Pr. form *पिअह or *पिअयह, instead of the common Pr. पिअह (H. C. 4, 10) or पियह (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिवति, which would be in E. H. either *पीइ or *पियै; similarly E. H. चूरै it drips = Pr. *चुअह, for the ordinary Pr. चुअह (H. C. 2, 77).

Note: Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gd. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् be hot is in Skr. both of the Ist cl., तप्, and also, but rarely, of the IVth cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्य). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (cf. तवह H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ die is in Skr. of the VIth cl., मिय,

but in the Vedas of the Ist cl., मृ. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मृ, Pr. मृ (Vr. 8, 12 मृङ्, E. H. मृ॑). It is possible that other modern Gd. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice“*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VIth (or Xth), and in E. H. into the VIth. Thus R. मत् *break* is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base मनत्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is मत्य, hence 3. sg. pres. मत्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. मत् of the IVth cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IVth cl.) suff. य्, makes the root to be of the VIth; hence base मत्त, 3. sg. pres. मत्तत् *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 मत्तंतस्स, Dl. 42 जिमत्त). Again R. रुध् *hinder* is in Skr. of the VIIth cl., hence base रुपाध्, 3. sg. pres. रुपाडि; but in Pr. it is of the VIth cl., by incorporating न and eliding its ष; hence base रुध्, 3. sg. pres. रुध् (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुद्धत् (or रुम्हत्) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VIth cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य् and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् can forms Pi. सङ्कर, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सङ्कर् is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्नते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (Vth cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सङ्कणोद् (cf. Dl. 36 सङ्कणोमि). Again R. लग् *belong* forms Pr. लग्गत् (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (Ist cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लायते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. कुट्ट or कुड्ड (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुटयते, the latter = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) स्फुटति. *Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिच्छ (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिच्छ (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VIth cl.) सिच्यति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्हृ = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हण्ठ (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्रेत् and विक्रिप्त, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीपति; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. विक्रै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्रै, by showing that the termin. ए॒ट् may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ई॒यते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धै॒ट् *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धैयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III^d cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देइ (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेइ *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. °ठेइ or °थेइ (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new Ist cl. स्थायति, of R. स्थै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्डेइ *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उद्ग-डौ, is the Skr. IVth cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. Ist cl. उड्डयते. All these last mentioned forms in ए॒ट्, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. Xth cl., which likewise ends in ए॒ट्, as Pr. कहेइ = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really Xth cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VIth cl. Just as कहेइ may *change to कहइ, so देइ to दइ (Spt. 216), °ठेइ to °ठइ (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VIth cl. Thus E. H. विक्रै = Pr. विक्रै or विक्रेत्; E. H. °है (in पहिरै *he put son*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धृ or °धेत्; E. H. संचै = Pr. संचर् or संचेत्; E. H. उत्तै = Pr. उत्तृ or उत्तेत्; the only exception is E. H. दे (or देय) for Pr. देत्. Again E. H. सकै = Pr. सक्रद्; E. H. लगै = Pr. लगात्; E. H. कुरै = Pr. कुरृत्; E. H. चारै or W. H. चालै = Pr. चलृत्; E. H. सोचै = Pr. सिचर्.

Note: The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IVth cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IVth cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नक्षते *nāhyate he binds*, but pass. नक्षते *nahyātē he is bound*. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IVth cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VIth cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

c 349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix आपि.* In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. आपि (Pr. आति, E. H. आत्व) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ or कारावेइ *he causes to do* == Skr. कार्यति or *कारापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with आपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ, so far as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. जारैवेइ *he causes to do*, not *कारै, which does not exist; again E. H. मरावै *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मरै *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VIth cl. are occasionally transferred into the Xth cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. आपि, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 सुपात् perhaps contr. for सुपाक्त् or सुपाकेत्); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. सुहावि = Skr. सुख् or *सुखापि (3. sg. सुहावेद् Spt. 169), E. H. सुहाव्. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., चुराव् *steal*, Pr. *चुरावि, Skr. चुर्; E. H. गरियाव् *abuse*, Pr. *गलिहावि, Skr. गल्ह्, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gd. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots.* In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. सर् *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. सृ, and E. H. सार् *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. सारि; or E. H. मर् *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. मृ, and E. H. मार् *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. मारि; E. H. ब्रुङ् *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. ब्रुङ् and E. H. बोड् *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. बोदि, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. आवि (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. निभाव् *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वहृ; from निराहृ E. H. derives an intrans. R. निर्वहृ *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वस्य or निर्वास्य; for these forms would become in Pr. निर्वस्त्वं, and thence E. H. *निर्वक्. Again E. H. नहा *bathc* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. एहा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नहृ *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नहृ is to it, as करू do is to करा (or कराव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संहृ or सदृ *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. सांहृ or सादृ, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव्, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gd. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gd.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhátipáthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in श; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the Xth class, but occasionally also to the Ist. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VIth cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्ज्ञ scour, from मार्ज्ञ scouring, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृत् scour; or R. मार्ग् seek, from मार्ग seeking, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् seek; both

preserved in E. H. as मैंन् and मैंग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट surround, from वेष्ट enclosure, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विश् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष् pull from कष् pulled, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) rub, pull with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेझ् and काझ् (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जन्म germinate, from Skr. जन्म birth, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् be born; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. *जन्मयति, Pr. जन्मेत् or जन्मत् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जनै; again R. धार् or ठार् or ठाल् pour, from Skr. धार् flowing, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् run; Skr. *धारयति, Pr. धारेत् or धात् (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारै or ठारै he pours. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलथ् turn over, from Skr. पर्यस्त turned over, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् turn over with suff. त; Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पलहट् or पलहत् (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलथै he turns over; again R. पीट् beat, from Skr. पिण्ड beaten, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चिष् beat with suff. त; Skr. *पिष्यति or पिट्यति (?), Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पिट्टेत् (Spt. 173 for *पिट्टेत्) or पिट्टेत्, E. H. पीटै he beats. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the Xth cl. आपय (Pr. आवे, H. आव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् be pleasant, from Skr. सुख pleasure (said to be a compound of सु good and ख a mine, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् dig), Skr. सुखयति or *सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेत् (Spt. 169) or सुहाव्, E. H. सुहावै it is pleasant. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् make known, from Skr. चित् known, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् know and suff. त; Skr. *चित्तापयति, Pr. *चित्तावेत् or *चित्ताव्, E. H. चितावै he makes known.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes“ must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gd. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ *do*. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर्वत् *to do*; thus जमा कर्वत् *to collect*, बंदु कर्वत् *to shut*, बेल् कर्वत् *to boil*, पास् कर्वत् *to pass an examination*, मेल् कर्वत् *to mix*, धान् कर्वत् *to meditate*, बिचार् कर्वत् *to think* (for बिचारवत्, as in English *to make answer for to answer*), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ *make low, degrade*, चिरं कृ *make long, delay*, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound roots*. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb स्फुट् + कृ or फुट् + कृ *blow*, whence फुट्करोति *he blows*; this appears in Pr. as फुक्कर् or फुक्कर् and in E. H. as फूफै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुट् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into one form, Pr. फुक्क्, E. H. फूक् which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क् *bark* (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = बृ or वद् + कृ; धक्क् *destroy* = धक् + कृ or धत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or धस्); फक्क् *swell* = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क् *pain* = चृ + कृ; दंक् *bind* = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination ए॒॒, which is occasionally reduced to ए॒॑. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form के॒॒ or के॒॑ (as in जोक्वे॒॒ or सोक्वे॒॑ Spt. 173 = Skr. खुक्तरोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form आै॒॒॑ which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn or it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उम्भु॒॒॑ or उम्भु॒॒॑; and in Skr. we find the form उपम्भियते which is both pass. and act. (VIth class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपम्भियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. ध् is धर्ति, of the Ist class. Similarly the R. म् die is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VIth class (मियते). It is, however, really passive with an active sense¹⁾; for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. ध्) of the Ist cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. क् do. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VIth cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. म् and ध्) करति, of the Ist class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (कर॒॑) and E. H. (कै॒॑). But although the Pr. के॒॒ or के॒॑ and the E. H. कै॒॑ have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. अहकै॑,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. म् being intrans. Besides, as both the VIth cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VIth cl. मियते *mriyâte* and the pass. मियते *mriyâte*.

from E. H. R. बहक् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out, scl., of the right path*) represents the Pr. अहिक्षेत् or अहिक्षेत् and Skr. अहिक्षियते; or E. H. उचकै, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उचक्षेत् or उचक्षेत् and Skr. (Vedic) उचाक्षियते *he is carried on high, etc.*¹). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुप् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes त् or अ; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष् *pain*, N. कष् *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. अ, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally इ; e. g., N. कष् *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain*²). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial कृ *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्षियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the कृ is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्षियते = Pr. रुक्षेत् or रुक्षेत् *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the IInd cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्षेत् and by transfer into the Xth cl. (§ 347) क्षेत्. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This इ is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally आ is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृतः lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उचाक्षियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उचक्षेत्, E. H. उचकै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel आ rather than इ, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was आ or इ; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to अ.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्तेर or चुक्त्र् *he ceases*; Skr. कर्वैक्रियते = Pr. कस्तिक्तेर or कस्तिक्त्र् *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in 'क्'). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143).

Thus Pr. रुक्तर = E. H. रोकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्त्र् = E. H. चुके (§ 146); Pr. कस्तिक्त्र् = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. क्, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक् *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. *चमक्त्र् or *चमक्त्र्, Skr. *चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. क् *do*, etc.

Note: Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्त् *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्त्, Skr. न्यक्त् *degrade* = नि-अन्त्-क्.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into :

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूम् *vex*, टेर् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टाँस् *cram*, ढो *carry*, तग् *stich*, तच् *be parched*, थिन् *be congealed*, तिहुइ or त्योह् or त्योइ *bend*, पज् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुड् or पौह् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोह् *make bread or thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर् *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लट् *be laden*, लिड् or लौल् *swallow*, लेइ *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed*, be soiled and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोइ *review*, हह् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into :
 a) *denominative*; as गोहराव् *call*, हस्ग् *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as तौँक् *scold*, टोक् *prevent, challenge*, मटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or इ

(or र्) or द्; as रहल् or रहर् *walk to and fro* (cf. N. रहल् f. *service, drudgery*); रहल् or रहर् *stop, remain* (cf. रहर् or नौक् *a place*); धकेल् or धकेल् or धकोल् *shove* (cf. धक्का or धक्का *a shove*); बहल् *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. बह् *flow*); भिसल् *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. भिस H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्); कात् *quarrel*; लथड् *be draggled or lathered* *draggle*; लतात् or लतेत् (*lit. kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. लात् or लत् *a kick* and लतर् *an old shoe*); कपट् *spring or caper* *attack suddenly* (cf. कप् *quick*); चपट् *be flattened or chaper* *flatten* (cf. R. चाप् or चाँप् *press* and N. चाप् *a bow*); रपट् *slip* or रपेट् *chase* (cf. रापी or राँपी *an iron scraper or knife*); लपट् *adhere or lapet* *enclose, fold* (cf. N. लप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); घसट् or घसिट् or घसीट् *drag* (cf. R. घस् *rub*); बुकोट् *scratch* (cf. बुकट् or बुक्का *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gd., but introduced from W. Gd. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gd. there are causal roots in आल् or अला (W. H.), आउ or अवाउ (G.), आर् or अरा (S.); e. g., W. H. बिठला or बिठाल् *cause to sit*, G. खचात् *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. डियात् *cause to give*, घारा *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gd. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gd.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in ēd (infinit. in ēdal), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., bahēd *flow* (cf. E. H. बहल्), matēd *be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); kēd *be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., āvrēd *hear*, blōsēd *torment*, puśtēd *ask* (cf. Skr. पूष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as zang or zangēd *swing*, kr do and kēd *be done*; just as in E. H. चाँप् and चपट् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with ēd in Pashtu¹⁾.

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in ēd as being compounds with kēd *be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in ēd; moreover the R. kēd itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. kr do.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. श्वल्, इद्ध, आउ, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or बट् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वट्), of which the terminal ट् (or अट्, एट्, एऱ्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्ल) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. घर्षेवृत्ते he is occupied in rubbing, he drags = *घर्षवृत्यति den. of *घर्षवृत्, Pr. *घस्सवृट् = *घस्समृट् = *घस्सयृट् = E. H. घस्टै or घस्टीटै. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्; thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् cling and लपक् spring; cf. also E. H. श्रौचट् and श्रौचक् suddenly.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus पात्रू thunder (Skr. गर्ज); त्याग् abandon. (Skr. त्याग); धूप् perfume (Skr. धूप); मोग् enjoy (Skr. मोग); लोभ् be enamoured (Skr. लोभ), etc.

THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

FIRST CHAPTFR. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मोत् friend, lg. f. मितवा or °वाँ, red. f. मितोवा or °वाँ or मितौ; fem. sh. f. लाद् bed, lg. f. लटिया or °वाँ, red. f. लटियवा or °वाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sītā*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °वाँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. आँखिया or °याँ; red. f. आँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरोवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. तरु *tree*, lg. f. तहवा or °वाँ; red. f. तस्ववा or तस्त्वा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुश्ववा or पतोहुवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाऊ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ; red. f. नउश्ववा or नौश्ववा or नउवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुश्ववा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

Note: Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई krishna, रमै or रमेया Rám.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in श) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and ऊ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेडा *ram*, माथ् or माथा *forehead*, ब्रास् or ब्रासा *dwelling*, ब्राल् or ब्राला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेडी *cwe*, लाठ् or लाठी *staff*, मूठ or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., जान (जानि) or जानो *wise man*; fem. ब्राति or ब्राती *wick, light*, ब्रह्मिनि or ब्रह्मिनी *sister*, etc.; in ऊ or ऊँ; masc. very rare, e. g., पीलु or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in श; masc. सोनारु *goldsmith*, कहारु *porter*, देव *god*, ब्रावु *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घरु *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़् *tree*, etc.; fem. ब्रात् *word, event*, नौक् *nose*, नौद् *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लोटिका or छोकरा *boy*, ब्रनिया *merchant*, घोरा *horse*, काँठा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोडा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा Durgá, सीता Sítá, or semitats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिखि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

माली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नातो *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनेरे^इ *brother-in-law*, कोळे *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *māre*, बिल्ली *cat*, लटिकी or छोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, छेपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माओ *fly*, etc. 6) Only in त; rarely, masc. tats. तरु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in ऊ; masc. नाऊ *barber*, पहरू *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindu*, आलू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, जोरू *wife*, तलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

Note: On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्णा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हॉडि *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in इ, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हॉडि *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neuters become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. इ and ऊ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or ऊए, fem. इआ or ऊआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेलिए^इ *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेलो; again Mg. Pr. fem. बालूआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. बिच्कुए^इ *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिढ़. — The E. H. termin. इ and ऊ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in इ and ऊ (Pr.) or इः, ऊः (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes शा in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राजा or राया king, E. H. रायू or रै; Pr. fem. वर्ता word, E. H. वात्), no E. H. short form in शा can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. शा of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. शए, therefore all E. H. short forms in शा must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ई of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in शा, stands for a Pr. fem. इशा, all such E. H. short forms in ई must be fem. — Finally the termin. शा of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. शाह, fem. शाहा (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नतिया *grandchild* = Mg. नविश्वाह (Skr. नवतृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुद्धिया *old woman* is also = Mg. बुद्धिश्वाश. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. शक्ति *eye*, Pr. n. शच्छौ or f. शच्छो or *शक्षो, E. H. f. शौखि; Skr. m. रस्मः *cord*, Pr. m. or f. रस्सी, E. H. f. रस्सी¹); Skr. m. शङ्खलिः *handful*, Pr. m. or f. शंखलो, E. H. f. (also m.) शंतलि; Skr. शलिः *offering*, Pr. m. or f. शली, E. H. f. शली; Skr. m. विधि (*good*) *conduct*, Pr. m. or f. विही, E. H. f. विही; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् *back*, Pr. n. पिट् or f. पिटौ, E. H. f. पौठः; Skr. m. कुञ्जिः *belly*, Pr. m. or f. कुञ्जौ, E. H. f. कोङ् or कोङ्लै; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चोरिंश्च (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिशा (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी¹). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः *knot*, Pr. m. or f. गंही (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठः (also m.); Skr. m. वाहुः *arm*, Pr. m. वाहू or f. वाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. वाहू or वाहैः; Skr. n. अन्त्रम् *intestines*, Pr. f. अंतो (in Ap. अंत्रडी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. अौंतः; Skr. n. अस्त्रिय or अस्त्रिकम् *bone*, Pr. n. अष्ट्रियं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अटौ (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. अौटी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिशा is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चौरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्ता; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. आगि fire, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्नो (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9^b) & E. H. f. देहू body (but S. m. उद्धु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. सोहू oath, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंदू or बिंदी or बूँदू or बूँदी drop, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदू or n. बिंदुः (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. वार्ड wind, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाऊ (Vr. 5, 18)¹⁾. The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूँदी) and वार्ड seem to be diminutives (Pr. *बिंदिष्मा, *वाइष्मा) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms *बिंदा, *वाया; just as Pr. fem. वाहा and masc. वाहू arm. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु thing (S. regularly tadbh. वयु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु metal (also वस्तु and धातु), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are tats., which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. iem. प्रवृष्टू rainy season, Pr. m. पात्सो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पात्सु or पात्सू²⁾. As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pg., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 420); thus Skr. n. कर्म (base कर्मन्) work, A. Mg. m. कर्म्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कर्म्मो, E. H. m. कर्म्; Skr. n. यशः renown, A. Mg. m. जसे (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उत्सु breast, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उरू; Skr. n. पयस् milk, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय् or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् eye, Pr. m. चक्षु (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्षुः), E. H. m. चख्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

1) E. H. f. ताँतू string is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 59 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. वार्ड wind, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वायिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सर्वशो = Skr. f. शरद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सर्वा. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रवृष्टः.

place in the case of neut. in अ (Skr. nom. sing. *अम्*; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुलू; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुःखं or m. दुःखे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुःखू; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. पात्राणं or m. पात्राणो or पात्राणो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वचनाणं or m. वचनो or वचनो, Ap. वचना (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वचन् or वैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोचनाणं or m. लोचनाणो or लोचनाणो, E. H. m. लोचनू; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हित्यं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हितए (Bh. 394, also हउक्के) or Mh. हितानो (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिता; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धणे (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धणु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धनू; Skr. n. मिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिरू (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिरू. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम (base दायन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर्, M. n. घर्, but E. H. m. घरू; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिरं, M. n. घी०, but E. H. m. घी०; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिच, M. n. दही०, but E. H. m. दही०; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पापिचं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानी०, but E. H. m. पानी०; Skr. n. मौक्किकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोक्षिचं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोती०, but E. H. m. मोती०; Skr. n. मस्तिकम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्यिचं, M. n. माती०, but E. H. m. माथी०; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोलाङ्गं or सोलांयं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोनेँ, but E. H. m. सोना०; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुचं, M. n. अंसू०, but E. H. m. अंसू० (O. H. अंसुञ्च in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. त्रुञ्चं, M. n. त्रू०, but E. H. m. त्रू० or strong form त्रुञ्चा०; Skr. (st. f.) n. कर्त्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. कर्त्तिवृचं, Ap. n. करेवृउं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवृउं, W. H. n. करिबौ० or m. करिबौ०, O. m. करिबा०, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिबू० or करबू०.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in अन्वैँ and उक्तैँ or अक्तैँ, as indicated by the final anunásika. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun सोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलासोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटीसोग् or बेटी, from sg. बेटी. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोरा but not घोरासोल्; *words* is आत्, not आतसोग्, from the sing. घोरा and आत्. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with सोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

Exception. A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as जन् *man*, pl. जने; मनुष् *man*, pl. मनह्.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. अन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in ए or आ, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign सोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct form*. See examples in § 379.

Exception. Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate objects*, do

not make the oblique plur. (with इन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gds., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. रा, N. रु; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in हे or ह (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-रा, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-रु or चेलाह-रु, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of अ-bases, ended in ए (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार boy); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gds. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gds., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gds. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग् *class*, सकल् or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gds. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चैले, obl. चेलोँ, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाभ् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओँ. However, in G. the final anunásika (Pr. anusvára), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग्न् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gds. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gd. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gd. (exc. S.) and N. Gd., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in शा. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in झ and श्र, and of com. gen. nouns in इ and उ is different from the direct. In S. Gd. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिए or सामिश = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिश्चो, Ap. सामिति = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिश्चाह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) समिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिश्चहो or °हु = obl. f. O. H. सामिश्चह, S. सामिच्च, W. H. and E. H. सामो. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. धोउट् or धोउष्म = dir. f. M. and E. H. धोउं, or nom. sg. Mh. धोउष्मो, Ap. धोउउ = dir. f. S. धोउं; and gen. sg. A. Mg. धोउश्चाह = obl. f. M. धाड्या (for *धोउया), E. H. (lg. f.) धोउवा; or gen. sg. Ap. धोउश्चहो or धोउश्चहे = obl. f. O. H. धोउश्चह or O. P. धोउश्चहि, G., W. H., E. H. धोउं, P., H. H. धोउं. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gd. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gd., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

Direct forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. अ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gd., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or आ॑ m., Mw., S., N. आ॑ m., G. आ॑ m., आ॑ n., M. आ॑ or आ॒ m., आ॑ or आ॒ n., O. H. आ॑ or आ॒ m. आ॑ n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ई॑ n., O. H. ई m., ई॑ f.
	ऊ	ऊ; exc. M. ऊ m. f., ऊ॑ n., G. ऊ॑ c. g.

Direct forms plural in M.

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., ए॑ n.	of strong bases	in आ	ई॑ or ई॒ n.
	in इ	ई॑ f.		in ई	या f., य॑ n.
	उ	deest		ऊ॑	वा f., व॑ n.

Oblique forms singular.

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ए॑, M. अ m. n., ए॑ f., O. H. अ or अह॑ or अहि॑, O. P. अ or अहि॑.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई॑, O. H. ई॑ or ईह॑ or ईहि॑, O. P. ई॑ or ईह॑.
	उ	उ॑; exc. M. ऊ॑, O. H. ऊ॑ or ऊह॑ or ऊहि॑.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ॑ m., Br. आ॑ or ए॑ m., H. H., P., S. ए॑ m., M. या॑ or आ॑ m. n., G. आ॑ m., आ॑॑ n., O. H. अअह॑ or अअहि॑ m. n.
	in ई	ई॑; exc. S. इअ॑, M. या॑ m. n., य॑ f. or ई॑ c. g., O. H. ईअह॑ or ईअहि॑.
	ऊ॑	ऊ॑; exc. S. उअ॑, M. वा॑ m. n., व॑ f. or ऊ॑ c. g., O. H. उअह॑ or उअहि॑.

Oblique forms plural

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्॑, H. H. आ॑॑, Br. आ॑॑ or अन्॑ or अनि॑, Mw., M. अ॑॑, P. अ॑॑ m., ईअ॑॑ f., G. आ॑॑, S. आ॑॑ or ए॑॑ or अनि॑ c. g., उनि॑ f., O. H. आन्॑ or अन्॑ or अन्ह॑ or अन्हि॑.
	in इ	E. H. इन्॑, H. H. इयो॑॑, Br. इयो॑॑ or इन्॑ or इनि॑, Mw. य॑॑, P. इअ॑॑, G. इथो॑॑, M. ई॑॑, S. इअ॑॑ or इए॑॑ or इनि॑ or इअनि॑ or इउनि॑, O. H. इन्॑ or इन्ह॑ or इन्हि॑.
	उ॑	E. H. उन्॑, H. H. उओ॑॑, Br. उओ॑॑ or उन्॑ or उनि॑, Mw., P. उअ॑॑, G. उओ॑॑, S. उनि॑, M. ऊ॑॑, O. H. उन्॑ or उन्ह॑ or उन्हि॑.
		N. B., in B., O., N. <i>deest</i> throughout.

of strong bases	in आ	P. इआँ m., S. आौ or एौ or आनि m., G. आव् (or आओ) m., आौ n., M. यौ or आौ m. n.	the rest as in the weak bases.
	in ई	Br. इयौौ or इयन् or इयानि or इन् or इनि, P. इआँ, G. ईआौ, M. यौौ or ईौौ.	
	in ऊ	Br. ऊौौ or ऊन् or ऊआनि or ऊन् or ऊनि, P. ऊआौ, S. ऊआौ or ऊौौ or ऊआनि or ऊनि, M. ऊौौ or ऊौौ.	

Obl. forms used as nom. plur.

of weak bases	in आ	B. आ-रा or ए-रा, N. आहे-रु or आह-रु, E. H. आ, H. H. आ m., एौ f., Br., O. H. आ m., एौ f., Mw. आ m., आौ f., P. आ m., इआौ f., S. आ m., आौ or ऊौ f., M. आ m., G. आ m., आौ c. g.	
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-रु or ईह-रु, E. H. ई, H. H., Br. ई m., इयौौ f., Mw. ई m., यौौ f., P. ई m., इआौ f., S. ई m., इऊौौ f., G. ई m., उआौौ c. g., M. ई c. g.	
	in ऊ	B. ऊ-रा, N. ऊहे-रु or ऊह-रु, E. H. ऊ, H. H., W. H., P. ऊ m., ऊयौौ f., S. ऊ m., ऊौौ f., G. ऊ m. or ऊआौौ c. g., M. ऊौौ. N. B., in O. <i>deest</i> throughout.	

of strong bases	in आ	B. आ-रा, N. आहे-रु or आह-रु, E. H., Mw., S. आ m., H. H., P. एौ m., Br. आ or एौ m., G. आ or आव् m., आौ or आौव् n., M. एौ or ऊौ m.	
	in ई	B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-रु or ईह-रु, E. H. ई, G. ईआौ, H. H. ई m., इयौौ f., Br. ई m., ईौौ or इयौौ f., Mw. ई m., यौौ f., P. ई m., इआौौ f., S. ई m., इयौौ f., M. ई m.	
	in ऊ	B. ऊ-रा, N. ऊहे-रु or ऊह-रु, E. H., S. ऊ, H. H., W. H. ऊ m., ऊयौौ f., P. ऊ m., ऊआौौ f., G. ऊआौौ or ऊौौ c. g., M. ऊौौ. N. B., in O. <i>deest</i> throughout.	

Note: It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in ई and ऊ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in आ and ऊ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in आ, ई, ऊ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in आ, ई, ऊ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. माने or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनह् men (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव् man; not मान measure, as Bs. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination एौ, obl.

अन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोगे. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side*. But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग् ends in (quiescent) ए, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ए in either Pr. or Gd.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिश्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिशः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाए, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिश् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोगा) it would be Skr. दिशः. Pr. दिसाए, which would not produce the B. दिग्. I am inclined to believe, that दिग् is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् of gods = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् of a god = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा gods is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् of a god. Similarly it uses an other (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देवदा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गर् to do for कर्) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवदिग्ने, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two न्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ते or के-ते, it is देव-टि-ने-ते (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-तइँ to him, lit. up to him). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun दिना formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. दिना-के and a gen. दिनोर् was made. The form दिनोर्, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarkable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. यैला he was and in S. यिथो, P. या; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. र् occurs also in⁹ the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally यो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and या and यो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and र् occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हर् or हरु to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. र्, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. र्, but has preserved the old termin. र्. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हर् is identical with the B. gen. termin. एर् and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-र् or देवह-र् gods = B. देवे-रा (or gen. देवे-र्). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., जने men = जनहि lit. of man scil. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. रु or (st. f.) रा (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. जनह-रु (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. जनहो कर्न) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., gen. जनह-रु-को of *men*, dat. जनह-रु-लाई to *men*, etc. Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base जन-रा, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base जन-दा or जन-दू, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. जन-दे-रु of *men*, dat. जन-दि-गे to *men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिग्, the true nature of the N. हेरु or हरु is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. आ, f. ए, m. f. इ, m. f. उ, and (st. f.) m. या, बा, f. ये, बे; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आौ, इौ, उौ, and (st. f.) m. f. याँ, बाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. अ, इ, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. आ or ए (= अ), इअ, उअ (or in the other Gds. contracted इ, उ) ; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आौ or इौ (in W. H. औौ, ओौ), and (st. f.) m. f. इआौ or इएौ, उआौ or उएौ (in W. H. इयौ or इयोौ, उम्रौ or उओौ). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in आ, इ, उ. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. स्त (or स्त्व = Skr. स्त्व) or ह (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin. 1) अस्त्, इस्त्, उस्त् and 2) आह्, ईह्, ऊह् or, with strong bases, 1) अग्रस्त्, इग्रस्त्, उग्रस्त् and 2) अश्राह्, इश्राह्, ऊश्राह्. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1st set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस्, ईस्, ऊस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इयास्), बास् (for उआस्), and the 2nd set (dropping ह¹) आ, ई, ऊ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इया), वा (for ऊआ). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2nd set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अवा, इया, ऊवा (with euph. य् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवास् or देवा to a God = Dk. Pr. देवस्त् or देवाह्, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी॑, which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position आठी॑ (= Ap. Pr. अट्टहि॒, Skr. अर्थे॑ for the sake of); thus M. देवासाठी॑ lit. for the sake of God, i. e. देवास् आठी॑ = Dk. Pr. देवस्त् अट्टहि॒, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे॑. The 2nd set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाई॑ lit. for the benefit of God = Dk. देवाह् लाहहिं॒, Skr. देवस्य लाभे॑; or (lg. f.) M. देवा लाई॑ = Dk. देवयाह् लाहहिं॒, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे॑; or E. H. dat. देववा के॑ lit. at the side of God, A. Mg. देवभाह कहि॒, Skr. देवकस्य कक्षे॑. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and ऊ is in Pr. ए॑ (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ॑ or अ॑ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ॑ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gd. Thus the latest Mg. Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, ऊअ or, with strong bases, इश्राअ, ऊश्राअ. In M., these become ए॑ (for आय with euph. य्), ई॑ and ऊ॑ (dropping अ॑), and (st. f.) ये॑, वे॑ (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (lg. f.) इया, ऊआ or ऊवा (dropping अ॑ and inserting euph.

1) As to the Gd. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shdh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सी; e. g., करी आनि साहाब सा अन्धि गोरी, *Revataṭa* 48; or रा चार्वैऽ जैतसी *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह् and जैतसीह्.

ृ and व्). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. तीमे of *a*, *tongue*, contr. for Dk. तीमय or जिभाम् or जिभाद् or जिभाएः = Skr. जिह्वायाः, of M. तीम्, Dk. जिभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and उ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and उ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू *scorpion* has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हन्त्री *elephant* has obl. f. हन्त्री (not हन्ता); f. घोडी *mare* has obl. f. घोडै, (not घोड्ये), f. सासू *mother-in-law* has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and उ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)¹⁾. The same remarks apply to the E. Gd. obl. forms in आ, ई, उ of short-form nouns in आ, ई, उ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा of *a horse* might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोउआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोउआहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. पां or पा (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हॅं (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, ई and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आपां, ईपां, उपां and 2) आहॅं, ईहॅं, उहॅं, or, with strong bases, 1) अआपां, इआपां, उआपां and 2) अआहॅं, इआहॅं, उआहॅं. In M. the 1st set becomes आँना, ईँना, उँना²⁾ or (st. f.) याँना (for आयान or इआन), वाँना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोटा, obl. घोट्या; analogously Skr. वर्त्पस्त्रकः: should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्या, but it becomes वाटसरू, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोटए, gen. घोउआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्सरउ, gen. वट्सरभ्व or °हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आँ + ना, ईँ + ना, उँ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ना, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उञ्चान्), and the 2nd set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) अौं, ईौं, ऊौं or (st. f.) एौं (for अयौं or इयौं), कौं (for उञ्चौं). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) अन्, इन्, ऊन्, or (lg. f.) अबन्, इयन्, उञ्चन्, and the 2nd set (lg. f.) अवौं, इयौं, उञ्चौं (with euph. त् and ग्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1st set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलान् of *women*, द्रव्यान् of *riches*, गुरुन् to *teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1st set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवाँना to *Gods* = Dk. देवाण्यं, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1st set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाण्यं मस्ति, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2nd set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.¹⁾, also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाई॑ lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाह॑ ठापाहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देवाँ ठाई॑ = Dk. देवयाह॑ ठापाहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थ॑; or (lg. f.) E. H. देवाँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देवशाह॑ मस्ति, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ई and ऊ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ई and ऊ for या, का, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईौं and ऊौं, which might be contractions of यौं and कौं, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हन्ती *elephant* has obl. pl. हन्तीौं (not हत्यौं), किंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. किंचवौं or किंचूौं. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and हे or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in Ls. 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, ऊ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, ऊहो or अहु, इहु, ऊहु

one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is one suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final आ; the forms ought to be अहौं, इहौं, ऊहौं.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gd., see § 367, 5.

and 2) ਅਵੇ, ਇਵੇ, ਤਵੇ or ਅਵਿ, ਇਵਿ, ਤਵਿ or, with strong bases, 1) ਅਸਾਵੇ, ਇਸਾਵੇ, ਤਾਸਾਵੇ or ਅਸਾਵਿ, ਇਸਾਵਿ, 2) ਅਸਾਵੇ, ਇਸਾਵੇ, ਤਾਸਾਵੇ or ਅਸਾਵਿ, ਇਸਾਵਿ. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1st set becomes ਚਵ, ਇਵ, ਤਵ or (dropping ਵ) ਚ, ਇ, ਤ, and the 2nd set ਅਵਿ or ਏ (contr. for ਅਵਿ = ਅਈ), ਇਵਿ, ਤਵਿ, or in strong bases, 1) ਅਸਾਵ, ਇਸਾਵ, ਤਾਸਾਵ or ਆ (for ਅਸਾਵ), ਇਸਾਵ, ਤਾਸਾਵ, and 2) ਅਸਾਵਿ or ਆਵ (for ਅਸਾਵਿ) or ਏ or ਏ, ਇਵਿ, ਤਵਿ. The 1st set (in ਵ) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2nd set (in ਵਿ) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., ਗੋਚਾਰ ਪਾਵ ਚਾਰੈ ਸੁ ਗੋਈ। *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or ਬੋਲ ਬੋਲਹੁ ਅਕਿਚਾਰਹ। *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or ਚਹੁਕਾਨਹ ਪਾਸ। *by the side of the Chahuðán* (Ch. 28, 33). Again ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਲੈ ਬੇਰਧਾਰਾ ਸੋ ਤੈ ਲੇ ਸੱਸਾਰਹਿ ਪਾਰਾ॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or ਜੀਵਹਿ ਮਰਨ ਨ ਹੋਈ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again ਪ੍ਰਣਾਈ ਪੁਰ ਨਰ ਨਾਭਿ ਬਹੌਰੀ। ਸਮਤਾ ਜਿਨ ਪਰ ਪ੍ਰਮੁਹਿ ਨ ਧੋਰੀ॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or ਹੋਈ ਸੰਤ ਪਿਧਹਿ ਪਿਧਾਰੀ॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or ਕੋ ਗੁਣ ਦੋਬਹਿ ਕਾਰੈ ਕਿਚਾਰਾ॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) ਵਿ is very common in O. H.¹⁾; thus ਰੰਗਾਵਨਿ ਸਥ ਸੁਨਿਹਿ ਦਿਖਾਈ॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or ਆਪੁ ਤੁਵਰਾਜਪਦ ਰਾਮਹਿ ਦੇਤ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., ਆਨਹਿ *to another* (see Bs. II, 229). Both ਵ and ਵਿ also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., ਕਲਾਈ ਸਮ ਧਾਨ ਤਤਾਰਵ। *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or ਤਤਾਰਵ ਤਪਰਵ। *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or ਆਦਿਹਿ ਤੇ ਸਥ ਕਥਾ ਸੁਨਾਈ *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) 'Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., ਕਹੁ ਕਿਧਿ ਰਾਮ ਪਿਅਵਹਿ ਸਮੁਕਾਵਾ। ਪਦਵਤੀ ਕਾਰੈ ਜਨਮ ਸੁਨਾਵਾ॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvati* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै taking the name of Ráma, प्रणाड़ पुर नर नारि I salute the men and women of the town, पियारी संतत (for पियारिच्च) offspring of the beloved one, etc. In modern Gd. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) आ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or ऊ and 2) आय् or इै or ए. The 2nd set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theñh bháshá*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे to a house = O. Gd. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दोने to the poor, O. Gd. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् to copper, O. Gd. तामाहि or तामश्चहि, Ap. तम्बश्चहे, Skr. तामुकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gds. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र् lit. done of God, O. Gd. देवहि कर, Ap. देवहे केरु, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते in God; nom. pl. देवे-रा Gods, O. Gd. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केरउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्कु: (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or इ) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-रु or देवहे-रु Gods, O. Gd. देवह करु, Ap. देवहे or हो केरु, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्कु:). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र्, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोडा कै, Br. घोडा कौ, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे जो of a horse, O. Gd. घोउश्चह or हि करौ or केरौ, Ap. घोउश्चहो or हो केरउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले कै, Br. भलै कौ of good, O. H. भलूश्चहि कौ, Ap. भलूश्चहे कौ, Skr. भद्रकस्य कौ. The unconstr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and ऊ by all other Gds.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हथी मे, but S. हथिअ मे lit. in the midst of the elephant, O. Gd. हथिअह माँहीै, Ap. हत्तिअह मत्तहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. विछू मे, but

S. विकृष्ट मे० *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gd. विकृष्टह म०, Ap. विकृष्टहो म०, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य म०, etc., The weak forms अ, इ, उ are common to all Gds; thus dat. sg., O. नरकु, B., E. H. नरके, Br. नर कै०, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नू०, N. नर लाई, S. नर खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कर्ते. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. I. 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अशहं, इशहं, उशहं, 2) अशहुं, इशहुं, उशहुं, 3) अशहिं, इशहिं, उशहिं. In O. H. the 3^d set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातुपितहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असीस॑ सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dás, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहू। lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter or if there is love of you for your daughter*¹⁾. In modern Gd., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अै०, इै०, उै०, 2) ओ० or औ०, (इहुं *deest*), ऊ०, 3) ऐ० or ए०, इै०, (उहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अौ०, इयौ० or यौ०, उअौ० or वौ०, 2) ओ० or औ०, इयो० or इयौ० or इयू०, उओ० or उओ० or ऊ०, 3) ऐ० or ए०, इऐ० or इै०, उऐ०. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gds., as follows. The forms अै० (wk. or st.), इयौ० or यौ०, उअौ० or वौ० occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms ओ० or औ० (wk. or st.), इयो० or इयौ०, उओ० or उओ० in Br. and H. H.; the forms ऐ० (wk. or st.), इऐ०, उऐ० in S., and the st. forms इै० and ऊ० in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नरौ० मे० lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. पारहं मरकहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरौ० मे०, H. H. नरो० मे०, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तव रामहिं ब्रिलोकि बैटेही *then Vaidehi having beheld Ráma* (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरुं म०; S. नरे० मे०, Ap. पारहिं म०; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोडँ मे० in the midst of horses, Ap. घोड़श्वरं मत्कहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br. घोडँ मे०, H. H. घोडे० मे०, Ap. घोड़श्वरुं म०; S. घोडँ मे०, Ap. घोड़श्वरिं म०, etc. Again M. dat. pl. हस्ती० ला lit. for the benefit of elephants, Ap. हस्तिश्वरिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लामे, etc. The rest of the forms are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369¹). — 8) I add a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak bases in अ*: masc. or neut., जल water; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलश्च or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gd. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gd. (c) जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. ज़िह्वा tongue, gen. sg. Skr. ज़िह्वाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) ज़िब्बाए० or ज़िब्बाइ० or ज़िब्बाओ० or ज़िब्बाय (with euph. य), M. (a) ज़िभें; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) ज़िब्बहो or (c) ज़िब्बहे, O. Gd. (b) ज़ीभह or (c) ज़ीभहि, M. Gd. (b) ज़ीभ (in all) or (c) ज़ीभें (in B., O.). Gen. plur., Skr. जलानाम्, ज़िह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलाणं, ज़िब्बाणं or (b) जलाह०, ज़िब्बाह०, M. (a) जलाँना, ज़िभाँना or (b) जलाँ, ज़िभाँ, E. H. (a) जलन्, ज़ीभन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, ज़ीभन् or ज़ीभनि, S. (a) जलनि, ज़ीभनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, ज़िब्बहं or (d) जलहुं, ज़िब्बहुं or (e) जलहिं, ज़िब्बहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, ज़िब्बहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलाँ, ज़िमाँ, Br. (d) जलौ०, ज़ीभौ०, H. H. (d) जलो०, ज़ीभो०, S. (d) जले०, ज़िभे०. — *Strong bases in अ*: masc. or neut., ताम्रक copper; gen. sg., Skr. ताम्रकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमूषश्च or (b) तमूयाह (with euph. य); M. (a) ताँब्यास् or (b) ताँब्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) तामवा (with euph. व); 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तमूशहो or (d) तमूशहे, O. Gd. (c) ताँब्याह or (d) ताँब्याहि, O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँबा, B. (c) तामा or (d) तामाय्, P., H. H. (d) ताँबे, S. (d) टामे. Fem., see fem. strong bases in इ. Gen. plur., Skr. ताम्रकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमूयाणं or (b) तमूयाह०, M. (a) ताँब्याणा or (b) ताँब्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामवन् (with euph. व) or (b) तामवै० (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous short form तामन्, Br. ताँबन् or ताँबनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तमूशहं or (d) तमूशहुं or (e) तमूशहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँबाँ, S. (c) टामाँ, Br. (d) ताँबो०, H. H. (d) ताँबो०, S. (e) टामे०. Fem., see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg. or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3. 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in इ*: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविश्च or (b) कवौह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भित्रि *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भित्रा; or भित्रः (lit. भित्रिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भित्रिश्च or (b) भित्रीह, M. (a) भीत्रीस् or (b) भीत्री; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भित्रिहि or (d) भित्रिहे, O. Gd. (c) भीत्रिह or (d) भीत्रिहि. P., S. (c) भित्रि, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भीत्रि. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भित्रीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणं, भित्रीणं or (b) कवीहँ, भित्रीहँ, M. (a) कवीँना, भीत्रीँना or (b) कवीँ, भीत्रीँ, E. H. (a) कविन्, भीत्रिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भीत्रिन् or भीत्रिनि, S. कविनि, भित्रिनि or (lg. f.) भित्रिअनि or भित्रिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भित्रिहं or (d) कविहुं, भित्रिहुं or (e) कविहिं, भित्रिहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भीत्रिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविश्चहं, भित्रिश्चहं or (d) कविश्चहुं, भित्रिश्चहुं or (e) कविश्चहिं, भित्रिश्चहिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियाँ, Br. (d) कवियौँ, H. H. (d) कवियोँ, भीत्रियोँ, S. (e) कविएँ, भित्रिएँ. — *Strong bases in इ*: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिश्चश्च or (b) मालिश्चाह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिश्चहो or (d) मालिश्चहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिश्चह or (d) मालिश्चहि, S. (c) मृलिश्च, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिश्चहो or (b) घोडिश्चहि, O. Gd. (a) घोडिश्चह or (b) घोडिश्चहि, S. (a) घोडिश्च, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. *स्त्रियाएः or *स्त्रियाइः or *स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोरिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिश्चापां, घोडिश्चापां or (b) मालिश्चहँ, घोडिश्चहँ, M. (a) माल्याँना, घोड्याँना or (b) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोटियन् or (b) मलियाँ, घोरियाँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिश्चनि or माल्यनि or मलिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिश्चनि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोटिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिश्चहं, घोडिश्चहं or (d) मालिश्चहुं, घोडिश्चहुं or (e) मालिश्चहिं, घोडिश्चहिं, S. (a) मालिश्चाँ or माल्याँ, घोडिश्चाँ or घोड्याँ, Mw. (a) माल्याँ, घोड्याँ, P. (a) मालीश्चाँ, घोडीश्चाँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियौ०, धोडियौ०, H. H. (d) मालियो०, धोडियो०, S. (e) मालिए०, धोडिए० — Weak bases in जः masc. or neut., गुरु teacher; gen. sg., Skr. गुरो० (lit. गुरस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलप्पा or (b) गुलूह, M. (a) गुरन्स् or (b) गुरै०; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरहो or (d) गुरहै, O. Gd. (c) गुरहै or (d) गुरहि, M. Gd. (c) गुरै० (in all). Fem. like masc. Gen. plur., Skr. गुरूणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूपां or (b) गुलूहै०, M. (a) गुरून्ता or (b) गुरै०, E. H. (a) गुरून्, Br. (a) गुरून् or गुरूनि, S. (a) गुरूनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gd.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुश्चहं or (d) गुरुश्चहु० or (c) गुरुश्चहि०, P. (c) गुरुश्चाँ०, Mw. (c) गुर्वाँ०, Br. (d) गुरुश्चो०, H. H. (d) गुरुश्चो०, O. H. (e) गुरुहि० or गुरुश्चहि०. Fem. like masc. — Strong bases in जः: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक scorpion; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुश्चप्पा or (b) विच्छुश्चाह०, M. (a) विच्छुचास् or (b) विच्छुचा०, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) बिच्छुश्चा or बिच्छुचा०; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुश्चहो or (d) विच्छुश्चहे०, O. Gd. (c) विच्छुश्चहै० or (d) विच्छुश्चहि०, S. (c) विच्छुश्च, E. H. (c) विच्छु०, M. (c) विच्छू०. Fem. बालुका sand; gen. sg., Skr. बालुकायाः०; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) बालुश्चाए० or बालुश्चाइ० or बालुश्चाय०, M. (a) बालै०, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) बलुश्चा० or बलुचा०; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) बालुश्चहो० or (c) बालुश्चहै०, O. Gd. (b) बालुश्चहै० or (c) बालुश्चहि०, S. (b) बालुश्च, E. H., etc. बालू० • Gen. plur., Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुश्चापां० or (b) विच्छुश्चाहै०, M. (a) विच्छुपां० or (b) विच्छुचाँ०, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विच्छुश्चन्० or (b) विच्छुश्चाँ० (but used in the sing.), Br. विच्छुश्चन्० or विच्छुश्चनि०, S. विच्छुश्चनि०; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विच्छुन्०, Br. and S. विच्छुनि०; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुश्चहं० or (d) विच्छुश्चहु० or (e) विच्छुश्चहि०, P. and S. (c) विच्छुश्चाँ०, Mw. (c) विच्छुश्चाँ०, Br. (d) विच्छुश्चो०, H. H. (d) विच्छुश्चो०, S. (e) विच्छुए०. Fem. like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final anunásika in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो Gods for *देवो०, Ap. देवहु०; fem. जीभो tongues for *जीभो०, Ap. जिभाहु०; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. धोडाव or धोडात॑)

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final शो, as धोडाशो (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with ज or चू, as written for me by a Pandit. But it is quite customary now in Gd., to spell the same final sound as ज or चू or शो; thus in W. H. देज or देवू or देशो god, चडाज or चडावू or चडाशो attack.

horses for *घोडाँ, Ap. घोउअहुं; fem. पोथीउ *books*, Ap. पोत्तिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final *anuswára*. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँव् or सोनाँ, Ap. सोलाअहुं. On the other* hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for *सोना, Ap. सोलाअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नर्न्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नरापां महिक्ति वट्टइ, Skr. नरापां मध्ये वर्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर्, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. के or कर् or O. H. केर्, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen.: In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also¹). In Gd. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gd. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular case, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with के means the gen., with से the instr., with मे the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gd. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हे) and the plur. (ह, हु, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gds. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. ना = Ap. gen. in अहो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ऐ or ए = Ap. gen. in अहे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पो or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा माँ or घोडे *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gd., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देवतो or देवत �god (Skr. देवकः), the gen. sg. देवतो or देवतु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of“ (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय for the sake of god; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in आदु or आउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in त् (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. त्). The abl. sg. in आउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. पां. There are also the suff., sg. ह्, pl. ह॑ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. ह॑, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary* Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + नाम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्स is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both पां and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह्, ह॑, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and पां are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह् and ह॑ and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gd.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Md. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)¹⁾. Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Md. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases²⁾. These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gd. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हुं as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Md. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Md. says: उसेक्तु हे हो च ॥ उसे: स्याने हेहो च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिहु । रुक्खहो ॥ (शिगहे) । शिगहो ॥ बालाहे । बालाहो ॥ i. e., the abl. sg. has हे or हो, as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. ते and तु is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हे is ascribed to the gen. and हु to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and है (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. I. (31. 32) gives हे to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हु to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Md. allows both हे and है to all masc., both in the gen. and abl.¹⁾. As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Md. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as, the sg. gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हु dropping the anuswāra. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and है are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gds. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. फें, both H. C. (4, 347) and Md.²⁾ ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since फें was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

1) Md. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ वयसो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहं पडिदु ॥ परुं चलिदु ॥ ब्राह्मणात् । रुक्खाहिन्तो । परेसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । शामो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वर्मणाहं । वर्मणाहुं । ब्राह्मणानाभित्यर्थे । वर्मणायां ॥ i.e., the abl. pl. takes हे or हु; as „it fell from the trees“, „he came from foreign (countries)“; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हे and हु, as „of Brāhmans“.

2) Md. says: हिंभित्तिसुपां ॥ त्रिष्णेषां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वणीहिं । वहुहिं ॥ i.e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take फें in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wifes“.

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हैं् is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हैं् and हि to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हि may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हि is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. एँ (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form एँ even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. sing. (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वराएँ by a forest, वालाएँ by a girl, अग्निएँ by fire, वातएँ by wind; they would be equal to *वराअहिं, *वालाअहिं, *अग्निअहिं, *वातअहिं. Here एँ can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in आ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to ए. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. sing. (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहि or घरे or घरि in a house. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हैं्, हुं्, हिं्; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्षहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्षहो from a tree or of a tree; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls'. conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अग्निहो or अग्निह of fire; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus gen. in गोचारपरह चारै सु गोइँ i. e., the herdsman tends the cows of an other (28, 62), or सेन भौमह करि किनियँ i. e., he dispersed the Army of Bhima (38, 41), or चरूयौ उदै कूरह बलियँ i. e., he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn (27, 47), or बन ज्यू मृग सिंघह रु गतँ i. e., in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants (27, 13); abl. in फूलह सुधार धर having adorned the body with flowers (38, 37) or तब सुमंत परधानह पुछियँ i. e., then he asked good counsel of the Premier (28, 88);

loc. जाने कि अकासह मान दिन : *just as in the sky the measure of day,* i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or *याय तौ कलह न किहौ* : i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); *act.* बीसलह राज कथि पुब्ल कथा : i. e., *Visala rdja told the whole story* (1, 82) or *तप सु हंडि तुअरह* : i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); *acc.* अनंगपालह बुल्लाइय : i. e., *he has called Anangpdla* (28, 9), or *अनंगेसह लैआउ* : i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. हे of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एत्वाहे *now, lit., in that, scl. time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एत्वाहे is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एत्वहे *in this, तेत्वहे in that, scl. place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after a-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छहि *behind, after* (H. C. 4, 420 for *पच्छहि), अगाहि *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एवहि *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अह्) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for *तलहि or *तलहि¹). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)²; see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्थिरा च ए च स्यात् ॥ बुद्धिए । धेन्द्रु । पाइए । बहुए । वालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides ए, as वालाए), as *by intelligence, by a cow, by a river, by a wife, by a girl*; contr. for *बुद्धिअहि, *पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in राजहि तुम पर् प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 834); e. g., Ap. तले or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or औ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. पाईए or पाईइ or पाईऔ, but in the Ap. पाईए.

the king for you (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि वंसहि उपज्यौ (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 211), or गुरुहि पूरुष करि कुलिविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि कात्र रिषि आयौ घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* अहु विधि चेत्तिहि आदर देत् *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form एः is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे to or in or by a house (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. plur. suff. are sometimes used in the sing. Thus in the Ap., the suff. हि (or the term. श्वरहि), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एँ, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अग्निएँ *by fire* for *अग्निश्वरहि (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हि is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रुक्खहिं करौ नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in नित्त लोकहिं विरुच गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form इँ, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरे^० *in a house or in houses* for *घरहिं; and, in the contracted form एँ, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरे^० *by a house* for *घरहिं¹). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एँ is seldom used except with the postpositions करून् or कडून् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form दे or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाछे^० or पाछे^० *behind, after* for *पच्छाहि (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. शहुं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms शड़े or शो^० or ऊ^० (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form शो^० (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form ऊ; thus S. घरुं or घरो^० or घरूं, P. घरो^० from a house, or P. पाछो^०, W. H. पाछू *behind, after*, for *घरहुं, *पच्छहुं. Again the suff. हं (or termin. शहं), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. plur. (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form शां (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरौ in a house or in houses, for *घरहं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहौं, W. H. यहौं *herc, lit. in this, scl. place*, for *एहां (Skr. इद्यां); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरौ from a house, मंकौ from within, for *मङ्कहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आहूं (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडवौं (*कै of*) a horse, for Mg. घोडआहूं; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gd. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्त्र becomes in Pr. स्त्र (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्त्र is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्त्र of whom (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस why = *किस्त्र (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = *किस्ते (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gd. this process is extended to all gen.; including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. जास of which, तास of him (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्त्र (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has सु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. I. 30); though it is not clear, how the final ः arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, जासु; e. g., तासु किन्हो चंद कहिय of him the glory Chand has told (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 133). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in अस (perhaps = Ap. असु); e. g., पुत्री वरी उज्जेन दिसि । पहिलै पांगा पुन ॥ i. e., a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in असि (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्यु becoming ह, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिए for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.¹⁾. Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि from a calf (lit. gen. of a calf), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह of a calf, Pr. गिरीहि from a mountain, गुरुहि from a teacher (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हि is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे²⁾. In O. Gd. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhramṣa (probably Gujarātī or Marwārī) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. असु in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे from that (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)¹⁾, which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्त्र. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with *an assumed Skr. suff. स्त्र. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. न्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to न्यो or हो (cf. Pr. नौहा or निक्षा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हु actually occurs as an abl. and gen. plur. suff. The change of „number“ would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. पि or पा (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वस्तानाम्, Pr. वच्छापां of *calfs*. This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to पहं or पह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular: a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. खलू = Skr. स्थाणु; Pr. तुष्टिहङ्को = Skr. तृष्णीकः, Pr. शुलो = Skr. स्यूलः, etc.* (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ल् is changed to पह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. पह न्हा is changed to हं *ham* (projecting the *anusvāra*, for न्हा), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvāra* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. आनाम् is in Pr. *शमं = शपहं = शहं = शह. The form पहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पञ्चपहं of *five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as करुपहं of *how many* = Skr. कर्तीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हं is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हँ is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gd. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 338) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though न्ह or न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. त्ति (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. त्ति (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvára* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हुं, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. हूं, pl. हूं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे[”] (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. मित्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्याम्¹), which would regularly change in Pr. to हें or हिं (for अें or अिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहि to men, S. act. नरे[”] by men or obl. नरे[”] के to men.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. जन men with the S. obl. sg. जन man (nom. sg. जनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. जने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यत् for the dat. and, in the modified form मित्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् to thee. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुन्तो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. जने; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. जीमैं or जीमें *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. जिमैं; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. जीमाँ or जिमाँ with the S. obl. pl. जिमाँ; the S. nom. pl. जिमूँ with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) जिमूँ; the W. H., P. nom. pl. भिन्नियाँ *walls* with the S. obl. pl. भिन्नियाँ; the S. nom. pl. भित्तिङ्क with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) भित्तिङ्क (or भित्तु), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. घोडे; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. घोडा *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. घोडा; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. सोनाँ *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. सोनाँ; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. घोडियाँ *mares* with the S. obl. pl. घोडियाँ; the S. nom. pl. घोडिङ्क with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) घोडिङ्क; the W. H. nom. pl. पोथों *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. पोथीं *in books*¹⁾; the W. H. and P. nom. pl. सासुआँ *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. सासुआँ, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as लोग *people*, गण *troupe*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old gen. (§ 366). In B. it is actually the gen. sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. देवे, gen. sg. देवे-र् of a god, nom. pl. देवे-रा gods; here रा is merely the strong form of र्; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the gen. sg., composed of the

1) The form पोथीं, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for पोथिएँ = Ap. पोथिष्वहि॑.

gen.-affix रु (for करु or केहु, § 377) and the O. Gd. gen. sg. in हे or हृ (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. देवहे or देवह, N. nom. pl. देवहे-रु or देवह-रु *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. घोडे *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. घोउअहे sol. गणु = Skr. घोटकस्य गणः, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in इ, उ, ई, ऊ is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e.g., E. H. nom. sg. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या (for *रामया) Rāma = obl. form E. H. रमवा or रमवाँ, M. राम्या = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. रामश्चाह or pl. रामश्चाहँ (see § 365, 1. 4)¹⁾. But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in श, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in शा. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be देवे *a god*, घोडयु *a horse* (for the usual देव, घोड़ा), both obl. forms = O. Gd. gen. sg. देवहि, घोडाहि (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. घोडा *a horse* = O. Gd. gen. or obl. sg. घोडाह or घोउअह, Ap. Pr. घोउअहो. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gds. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54.^c Thus S., G., Mw. घोडो, Br. घोडौ = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. घोउड, Pr. घोउओ; E. H., B., O., M. घोडा = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. घोउच or घोउइ or घोउए (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. घोटकः; again E. H., B., O., M. देव *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. देव or देवि or देवे; W. H., P., G., N. देव or S., O. W. H., O. P. देबु = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. देबु, Pr. देबो, Skr. देवः. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. इ (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. नि), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also इ, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are irr. Mh. Pr. आइं, ईइं, ऊइं, in Ap. Pr. आइं, ईइं, ऊइं, or with strong bases अआइं, ईआइं, ऊआइं. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. रामए; for ए could not well become शा; and it would not account for the final *anunásika* in E. H.

come in M. दृं (इं and उं *desunt*) or, with strong bases, दृं or ईं, यैं; कैं. Thus M. घरे॑ houses, Ap. घरां, Pr. घरां, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वाँसे॑ calves, Ap. वच्छउश्रां, Skr. वैत्स॑; M. केलो॑ plantains, Ap. केलश्रां, Pr. कयलश्रां (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदरकाणि; M. मोत्ये॑ pearls, Ap. मोत्रिश्रां, Pr. मोत्रिश्रां, Skr. मौक्किकानि; M. अंसु॑ (or अंसवे॑), Ap. अंसुश्रां, Pr. अंसुश्रां, Skr. अम्बुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. शो or तः or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. तीभा tongues (nom. pl. of तीभ), Pr. तिभा or तिभात् or तिभाशो, Skr. तिह्राः; or M. घोड्या mares, Pr. घोडिन्ना or घोडिन्नात् or घोटिन्नाशो, Skr. घोटिकाः; or M. सास्ता (or सासवा) mothers-in-law, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआत् or सासुआशो, Skr. प्राशुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः॥ सुमोरूप् स्यात्॥ चन्द्रु। रात्। ब्रगितः। महूउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i.e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon*, *king*, *fire*, *honey*; b) होच॥ सुमोरू हो च स्यात्॥ रुक्ष्वहो॥ i.e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सौ पुंस्य ग्रत शो कुचित्॥ सत्पो॥ i.e., masc. *a*-bases, have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) जसो हे च॥ रुक्ष्वहे॥ वालाहे॥ *a*-bases have also *he* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees*, *girls*; e) स्थियाम् उच् च तप्त्वासोः॥ वालात्॥ चकाराद् वालाहे॥ i.e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or *he* in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इ नपुंसके दीर्घे वा॥ नपुंसके तप्त्वासोरु इं स्यात्॥ प्राग् दीर्घे वा॥ वणां॥ वणां॥ मुहुरुं॥ मुहुरुं॥ i.e., neut. bases have *im* in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods*, *honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gds. is identical with some one Gd. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a*) *horse*, *oh horse*, or *horses*; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोड़े; voc. pl. H. H. घोडो, P. घोडित (= *घोड्यु or *घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडात् or घोडाक् (or घोडाशो); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड़ा or घोडे. So also in fem. nouns¹⁾. The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Cramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुद्धौ सौ हे च ॥ स्थिताम् इत्यु एव ॥ वालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीबन्धु च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be वाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for वाले is a mere contraction for वालहे or वालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as ज़िमे oh tongue, माके oh mother, पीए oh daughter; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे oh horse, and to masc. pl., as देवे oh gods. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो जसः ॥ त्रिषु जसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्षहो । वपाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or अ (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding अ to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ oh marks = घोडिअहु (with ई for इअ) = Ap. घोडिअहो; or S. नरो or नरा oh men for *नरउ or *नरअ = *नरहु or *नरह, Ap. पाइहो. Gd. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा oh god, but voc. pl. देवे oh gods; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोड़ी oh horses or (of) horses.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, ते or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् Ráma, voc. हे राम् oh! Ráma; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा oh! son; nom. दुर्गा, voc. ते दुर्गा oh! Durgá, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent“, or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gd. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gds. from the E. Gds. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gd. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. 63) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that“ may be in Skr. ते एतद् न आचेरः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचीर्पय्; but in Pr. only the latter तेहिं एवं अपाइस्य (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an *act. sense*, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं ज्ञाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Setub.* 6, 51 आठत्रा दीसितं पिसिन्नरक्षाणा the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen (Skr. निश्चरक्षाणा दृष्ट्य आरब्धतः), and intrans., ibid. 8, 30 दीसितं पउत्रं

सेतुबंधस्स मुहुँ *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or *ibid.* 7, 71 घैप्पिं यउता पकंगा *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gds., while the other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass.-act. constr. with the subj. in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gds., and, of course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*“ is in E. H. इलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्होँ ने बहू न खायौ. Here खैलेन् is the 3^d plur. masc. 2nd pret. (formed from the past part. pass. खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. इलोग् and governing the acc. उ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with बहू and governed by the instr. or rather act. इन्होँ ने. — It has^o been stated already (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substitute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसि॑ एश्च अपाइस्म, where तेसि॑ is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the instr. तेहि॑ (= Skr. तेभिः)¹⁾. It has also been stated (*ibid.*) that this Pr. tendency has become in Gd. an absolute law, and also, that the Gd. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen. Hence, as regards the W. Gd. and S. Gd., their method of expressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj. in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole of the W. and S. Gd.; that is, that in the pass. “constr.” the mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धारस्स लठो for धारेण लठो *acquired with money*, or चिरस्स मुद्रा for चिरेण मुद्रा *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

(ने^०). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behári Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs¹⁾. In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindi, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. ने^०, Mw. नै^०, P. नूँ; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. ने^० is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions, for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौ^० or को in Br., ने^० or ने in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने^० was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुज and राज are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and जिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to“. An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन् or ना can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in एँ or ऐँ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in आ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. नै, M. sg. नैँ or pl. नौँ, P. नै, G. ने or पो, N. ले. The aff. थोँ in G. and हैँ, स्तोँ or श्वीँ in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487). ~

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to*, gen. कै, के or करू, करे *of*, loc. मे *in*. The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Note: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सोँ or सेन or ते or थीँ, loc. मेँ or म or माँ or माँक or माहीँ.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.: 1) कै and के, 2) करू and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कै, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घर कै सामी आवत् बा *the master of the house is coming*; घर के सामी से कहह *tell ye the master of the house*; घर कै लोग् आवत् बाटै *the people of the house are coming*; घर के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावह *call ye the women of the house*. Again इ शेकरू or शोकै घर बाटै *this is his house*; ऊ ए करे or ए के घर में बाटै *he is in his house*; ऊ ए कर or ए के पोथी बाटै *those are his books*; ऊ ए करे or ए के पोथी मे पड़ैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities.* Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gd., as against W. Gd., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gd. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रौ, G. नो, P. दा, S. जो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. जे; *nom. sg. neut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. जी; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. जा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिन्हाँ, S. जे or जनि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँच्, *obl. dho.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीड, P. दीज्हाँ, S. जँ or जिँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीड, P. दीज्हाँ, S. जे or जिनि or जुनि or जिन्हनि or जिउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gd. and N. Gd. follow the W. Gd. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चेॅ, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. चो, N. की, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चेॅ, N. का, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. चोॅ, *obl. चे* or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl. M. चे* or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौँ	नै
abl. instr.	हटे	रु, करु	से	से	सोँ	त्सुँ
gen.	रु	रु, करु	कै, करु	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	मे*	मे*	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	बे	ला	लार्द्
abl. instr.	थो	ते	बोँ, बाँ	सीँ, हीँ, हून्, ऊन्	सँग
gen.	नो	टा	जो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	मे*	त्	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	ने*	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular cases, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करु बदे *what for*, but an aff. in कोहु बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरु के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरु लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to 1*, *till* or *up to 2*, *with 3*, *by 4*, *from 5*, *in or at 6*. Thus a) (Skr. लग्न), B. लागात् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगो or लगि 1, G. लगो 1, M. लगोँ or लागनि 1, N. लागो 1; b) (Skr. सङ्घ), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लये or लए or लये^० or लो^० 2, P. लई 1, S. जाइ or लइ 1, G. लोधि 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई^० 1, थेके 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-ह or ठुं or ठाँ 5, E. H. थी^० 5, W. H. थी^० 5, G. थी 5, P. थी^० or थो^० or O. P. थावहु or थो or थो^० 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाजि 5 or 6, M. ठाई^० 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कर्ने or कर्नै or कणि 1, P. कन्नी 1, G. काने 1, S. कापो or कापिं or कर्ने or कनि 1, कनाँ or कनो^० 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाही^०, W. H. पै, P. पाहो^० 5; f) (Skr. कल), B. काङ्के or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कँहै 1, Br. को^० 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहुं or कउ or को or कू or कूँ 1, S. ले 1 or लाँ or लो^० 5; g) (Skr. तस्ति?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताई^० or तई^० 2, ते or ते^० 5, P. ताई^० or तीकु or तीकुर or तेडी 2, ते or उतो^० or उताँ 5, S. ताई or तोई^० or तोडी or तोणी 2, ताँ or तो^० 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. वार्ता), E. H. बाट 1, S. बटे 1, बाटौं 5, G. बते 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वर्त), E. H. वरे 1, M. वरून् 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. कात्रु 1, O. H. कात्र 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करून् 5, करिताँ 1; m) (Skr. अर्थ), M. अठी^०; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणो 1, S. साँगि or साँगाँ 1, सेणु or साणु 5, N. सँग 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सरू or सारू 1, S. सारू 1, G. सारू 1; p) (Skr. 'समाधा?'), W. H. सूधो 2, S. सूधाँ 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त^०), B. हइते 5, O. H. हुन्तो or हूँतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दक्षा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पाञ्च), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो^० 5, S. and G. पासे 6, M. पासी^० 6, पसून् 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. पर or परे 6, E. H. पर or परि 6, W. H. पर or परि or पै 6, P. पर 6, परो^० 5, S. परे 6, पराँ or परो^० 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माफे 6, E. H. माँक् or माँही^० or मे^० or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. मे^० or मो^० or माँ or माँय् or मई or माहै 6, O. H. मधि or मठि or मफि or माँग or मज्जन or माहै^० or माहो^० or माही or महि or मै^० 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंके or मे^० 6, माँ or मो^० 5, G. माँ 6, O. M. माझी 6, M. मध्ये^० 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितर् or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतर् 6; x) (Skr. कउ), M. कउ 6, कहून् 5; y) (Skr. मत्त), S. मये 6, G. माटे 1, N. माणि 6; z) (Skr. सिर्स), P. सिर् 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्त), W. H. बीच् 6, P. बिच् 6, O. P. बिचि 6, S. बिचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काष्ठे (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहै or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., क्षधि सिधि संपत्ति नदी सुहार्द्‌ । उम्मि अवधि मंत्रिपि कहं आह॒ ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 25³ where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कन्ते at the side of as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or *कक्षे or *कक्षलहुँ (see § 378) or probably *कहे or *कहि or *कहहुँ (or *काहहुँ, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहूँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कौँ or (with the loss of anunásika) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to के (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहूँ). The S. ले has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह, just as in भैस् *buffalo* for वहिस or महिस, गाया *donkey* for गदहा (Pr. गद्ध H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे for (Ed. 115) and W. H. लये or लये^० or लाए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लइ (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधे, W. H. लयौ, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited*. This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. for the benefit of (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be *लहिए or *लहिश्चहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइश्चहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लये^० or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or *लै^०. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लै^० and ले further change to Mw. नै^० and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेत्रन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) to obtain = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हये to भे or हे they were (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be *लहिश्चहुँ or *लइश्चहुँ (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to *लयूँ or लौ^० or लो^०. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until*. From लो^० arises the P. dat. aff. नूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have आ, as N. लाई्, S. लाई्, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लग्हि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of*. — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगी, N. लागी, M. लागौँ, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until, or on account of, for*, and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्न् lit. *in contact with*. In the Ap. Pr. it is लगे or लगि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लगाहिं, whence the Gd. लागौँ or लागी or लगी¹). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागौँ and S. लाकूँ (Tr. 401, ?लागूँ?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लगाहुँ. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाई् and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठापि or ठापे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थाने itself. — 5) The M. आठी² (in the so-called³ postpos. साठी², see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. अट्हिं, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of*. — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. पाहौँ or पै, P. पाहु (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. *पक्षे or *पाहे or *पाहिं, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहौँ (Ld. 74) = Ap. *पाहुँ. — 6) The set, W. H. कपि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनै or कानौ⁴ (Mw.), P. कन्त्री, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. काने, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of*, is = Ap. loc. कपे or कम्हिं and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्पे or कार्पे (lit. *at the ear or belonging to the ear, i. e., side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. तह् or तई⁵, P. ताई⁶ or तोकु or तोकुर् or तेडी (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताई⁶ or तोई⁶ or तेडी or तोणी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to*, I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. ते, ते॒, P. ते, उतो॒, उतौ॒ (Ld. 77), S. तौ॒, तो॒ (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to, and the loc. aff.*, B., P., S. ते

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लगोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लगिअपा; so also might be the G. लगी = Pr. लगिअ; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागौँ, on account of the final *anunāsika*.

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तरित् (or उत्तरित्, of the R. त्) passed to, hence up-to, upon, from-upon. The loc. तरिते would become Ap. तरिए or *तइए (see § 124) and contract 'to Gd. ते, just as Gd. से arises from सहिए, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements कृ, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements औ, पौ to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. सर्व or सार्व, S. सार्व, G. सार्व, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश like, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सदृशु or सदृश्व (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. संपि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. संगॊ (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of*, for, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी *with*, from, P. संपे *with* (Ld. 74), S. सापु or सेपु *with* (Tr. 401), N. संगॊ *from*, S. संगाँ *on account of* (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्गे, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. अ् would readily pass into अ् or त्, cf. पल for पल (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूची (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूचॊ *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. *संवैक्ष or *संडैक्ष), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with* or *up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. बाटे, S. बटे (Tr. 402), G. बाटे (Ed. 115), meaning *for* or *instead*, and the abl. aff., N. बाटू, S. बटॊ *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. बार्व (or वर्व or वृव्व) *welfare, Pr. बट् or बत्* (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. बार्वे lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. बटे and the abl. aff. M. बरून् are derived from the Skr. बर् *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कात् is the Pr. loc. कर्त्ते, Skr. कार्ये *for the work or sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for *करिए = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. करून्; similar is the M. dat. aff. करितॊ which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in आसू, इसू, ऊसू sg. and आैना, इैना, ऊैना plur., see § 365, 1. 4.

Note: I think the identification of the S. खे with *कहे more consonant with Gd. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that खे = Skr. कृते, by the loss of र् and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = किते = लिए = खे Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gd. The examples, to which Tr. refers (स्थिर्गु tabor, हिर्दि heart, for Skr. मृदुङ्ग़ a drum, हृदय़ heart Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) र् has not disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of खे, it is the preceding cons., and र् has disappeared. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become किर्ये, not खे. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्य (e. g., Pr. एत्य or एत्यु here = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्य with त्र (Ls. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are various modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहें) and even dropped it altogether (in को॒, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हिंतो 'also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. ही॑, the latter to E. H., W. H. सो॑, Mw. तू॑, G. शू॑; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अन्ति contracts in Gd. ऐ॑ or ए॑ or इ॑ (see § 497, 2 f.). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होंतओ or होंतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुंतो or हुंत¹). These forms

1) हुंतु is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होंतु or हुंतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू to be (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हइते, and N. भंटा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms हवंतँ and भवंत or भंत (cf. H. C. 4, 60 हवंतिर् and H. C. 4, 365 भंति = Skr. भवन्ति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it“; thus Ap. तहाँ होंतँ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तहाँ हुंतो आयो, N. ताँहाँ भंटा आयो, B. आया हइते आइल् *from there (lit. being there) he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there (lit. the there being) has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू be and अस् be respectively, slightly modified for हंतो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 हंति)¹⁾ and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हंतो or हुंतो (H. C. 4, 61) have become हिंतो, so संतो or सुंतो may become सिंतो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्²⁾, and in the S. से[”] (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. से and M. सी[”] or शी[”]³⁾. The S. सौ[”] (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संते which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो are used for the

1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. अंति of the 3. pl. and अंतँ of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With त् for न्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. अंति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. अंतो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी[”] or शी[”] cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into सू + ई[”], the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी[”] = देवासू or देवस्स + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like ने[”] in याच्या ने[”] *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई[”] is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होतः for the abl. also; similarly जी० and ही० are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. शोह से कइल् गइल् *done by him or with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with“; thus *gone with him* is not शोह से गइल् but शोह के संग् गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वह पुनहू से पलकु *return with Puhnahū a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हिंतो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होतः (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हिंतो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. ही० is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend सौ०, सो०, से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुंतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हून् or, curtailed, उन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हिंतो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हूत्) traced to the Ap. होतः (or rather the wk. f. होतु०) by the change of न् to न०, as in the S. suff. अनि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. अंति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हूनि or हूनियाँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियाँ or उनि and in M. M. उन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होउन having been. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., ताहाँ देखि निस्कयो *he came out from there*, माँझ देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हून् and the conj. part. होउन; and, on the whole, the identification of हून् with हुन्तो seems most to commend itself¹⁾. — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँझ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. ही० with Pr. हि and of the H. सो० or से with Skr. समं (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हिंतो from हि + त्तु I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-र् or ठात् or टुः (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँ॑र् or ठा (र् is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठापि, and ठात् or टुः = Ap. abl. ठापाहु. Identical with these, only substituting ए for र् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. आत्रि, P., E. H., W. H. थो^० (Ld. 77), G. थी (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. आपि; and O. P. यावहु or थो^० or थो, M. P. थो^० = Ap. abl. यापाहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थकौ the aff. के and कौ are super-added. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सने, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, ते^०, P. उतो^०, S. ताँ or तो^०, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करून् and वरून्, and of the N. बाट, S. बटाँ. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासो^०, and P. परो^०, S. पराँ or परो^०, and S. माँ or मो^० or मंकाँ and S. मथाँ, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. दै^० (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. दै (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for देहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवे^० *by a god*, Ap. देवै, for *देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. दै^०, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. दहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवौ^० *by gods* = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. शै^० and शत् or शो^० or ऊ^० in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or शो^० in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. शहं and शहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. घराँ *from a house* = Ap. Pr. घरहं, or S. घरउं or घरो^० or घरू^०, P. घरो^० = Ap. घरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केरू m., केरि f., and in the strong form, masc., dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); fem., dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरो. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. sg. केरै, pl. केराँ (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केरै in सो सुग्रीव केरै लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugrīva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Lanká) or मिटै न जोवन्ह केरै कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करहु

राज्ञारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sítá* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि व्रत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dás, Lanka), or केरो in कोतेरा पुत्र पिता तैँ काको मिथ्या भ्रम जग केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabír, Suravalí 12), or केरो in दौरै गत संधं चाहुवान केरो *blindly ran the elephant of the Cháhuván* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे in आखर केरे वजन में बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtás); masc. pl. केरे in ये किरीट दशकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dás, Lanká), or केरा in जान्हवी केरा तरंग तजो ने तट माँ जाइ कूप लादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kávyad. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर आणी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dás, Lanká), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केरु etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर् m., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर् in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर् करुङ विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabír, Ramaini 24), or जात्रि जाति कर् रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dás, Lanká); or plur. सब कर् आजु सुकृत फल झीता^१ *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dás Ayodhyá 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किन्निय । हय किन्निय विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किन्निय^२ lit. *the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Somabhadha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I. in Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर् of gods, where कर् is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur., again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे to gods and abl. देव-मानन्-करु from gods, where करे and करु are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर् (cf. O. हाते to or in a hand, हातु from a hand of हात् hand, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर्, करे, करु into र्, रे, रु respectively, e. g., जन-र् of a man, बृत जन-मानन्-करु of men; जन-रे to a man, जन-रु from a man. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र् in the gen. (e. g., sg. जने-र् of a man, pl. जन-दे-र् of men; sg. चेला-र् of a disciple, pl. चेला-दे-र् of disciples, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., जने-रा men, lit. (multitude) of man; चेला-रा disciples, see § 369); N. the weak f. रु in the nom. pl. (e. g., जनहे-रु or जनह-रु men, चेलाहे-रु or चेलाह-रु disciples, see § 364, 3); Mw. the st. f. रो m., री f. (e. g., जन-रो घर् the house of a man, जन-रै घरै in the house of a man, जन-रा घर-नै to the house of a man, जन-रा घर् the houses of a man, जन-री बात् or बातौ the word or words of a man). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर् is curtailed to र् (e. g., पर-र् having died = H. H. पर् कर्, see § 491)¹). On the other hand, र् may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or करु. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष्म सुङ्कै his life departs from pain (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु विभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती! hear, o Vibhushan, the lord's custom (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहब सब कोइ every one will say (it is) the quality of love (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितृ आयसु सब धर्म-क टीका (to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly और् and is shortened in E. H. to और् and curtailed in N. to र्; e. g., जिया र् and they were.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उठरै छिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुटल बांधुलि कमल-क संग *the bándhuli has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms कै and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन कै घर् *the house of a man*, but जन के घर् मे in the house of a man); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gd.; thus कौ in कंठसोभ बर् कंद कौ! नाम कल्पौ पर्वान॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kantasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कथा मंड चहुआन की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuán* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर स्वान के जन्मे धर्इ! जो गुरु केरी निंदा कर्इ, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtás). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कथा झंपि ससीबृत्त किय। अब कहत कथा विस्तार किय। जो राजन दूतन करिय॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किश्चु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किशो¹⁾. There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1st set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरो or केरु m., केरी f., केरं or केरु n.; st. f. sg. केराओ m., केरिका f., केरां or केरउ n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केराको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; masc. केराओ in एसो कल्पु बलंकाराओ बलाशा केराओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. करु, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. करु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. शार्याया: अलङ्कारः); fem. in मम केलिका वर्णवालिष्ठा *my turn of slaughter* (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम बद्धपात्री); neut. in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहपां *whose is this conveyance* (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्स प्रवहपाम्) or तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *your wealth* (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. गुष्याकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in नसु केरे हुंकारउं सुहहुं पतंति तपाइं *on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer)* (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण)¹). It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gd. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gd. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures* or Chand's भौमह करि सेन *the army of Bhima* with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *the wealth of you*; 2) it is *pleonastic*, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरउं धणु²) or कस्स पवहपां and कस्स केरकं पवहपां are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भौमह सेन would be in Gd.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gd., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतसौ i. e. सम्बऽ परे केरऽ भवतः *after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and tana are used*; and then follows the example नसु केरे etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gd. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gd. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत *done, made*, of the R. कृ *do*. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on *intrinsic* and *phonetic* grounds. In the first place, the phrase *done by* most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „*of*“; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 180, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1878. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase जनु केरे॒ हुङ्कारउ॑ lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केरे॒ is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेरे॒ *royal*, पारकेरे॒ *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो॒ *ours*, तुम्हकेरो॒ *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हहं॒ केरउ॑ *ours*, तुम्हहं॒ केरउ॑ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कश्चा॒ केलके॒ *whose* (Mrchhh. 96, 22), तविष्णपापो॒ केलका॒ of an ascetic (Mrchhh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केरे॒ cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done“, केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेरे॒ = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरे॒ or अम्हक्केरे॒ (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मकृतं *done by us*¹). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केरे॒ looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमर्थस्य केरे॒: i. e., *kera* is used as a possessive suff. (H. C. 2, 147) and पाराजान्यां क्काडिक्को॒ च i. e., *kka*, *ikka* and *kera* are used as possessive suff. after *para* and *rdja* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. ईय and कौय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतणो॒ (H. C. 4, 422)²). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरे॒ वधनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो॒ *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हहं॒ केरउ॑ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = *तम्हकर्त्रीयो, see § 78. — The curtailment of का॒, करो॒ to र्, रो॒ in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कौय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य what is to be done would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks *for*, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a short इ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्जा, वेली, पेज्जंतो or पेरंतो, सुदेरो, अच्छेरो, बम्हच्चेरो are = Skr. भ्रष्टा, छिन्नः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्रयः, बम्हच्चयः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)¹). On the other hand Skr. °आर्यो becomes in Pr. °अज्जं or °आरिश्च° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्जा or भारिश्चा = Skr. मार्या wife; Pr. कज्जं or कारिश्च = Skr. कार्यम् to be done²). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gd. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in क्त, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर, धर, मर, सर, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form⁴ their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिष्यो, धरिष्यो (H. C. 1, 36), मरिष्यो, सरिष्यो (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिश्चिं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिष्यो and the

1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेर्कं for Skr. ग्रास्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृक्षं and ग्रास्यं; and the Pr. गेर्कं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेपह्र (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृक्षं = *ग्रक्षं = Pr. गेर्कं. — The Pr. मेन्न or मेत्य for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °आरिश्च° also, but not °एर°; viz. यस्य रिश्चः प्राणवृत्त्यो वा। यस्य रिश्चः स्यात्। प्राक् इत्यवश्यं वा स्यात्॥ भारिश्च॥ कार्ये कच्च च दृश्यते। कस्यं। चकारात् कारिश्च। करिश्च च॥ i. e., „ry becomes ria and the preceding vowel may be short or long“. — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, आजिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना own, आजिका of to-day, कलका of yesterday (gen. आपनका-र्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिष्यते become करो and करन्ते, just as Skr. आश्वर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अश्वर्यम् or अश्वर्ण (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्त्रोरो a *heap* and दरें a *door* are, in all probability, modified from the past. part. pass. Pr. उक्त्रिष्ठो *heaped up* and दरिष्ठं *split*, of the Rs. उक्त् and दृ, resp.¹⁾. The modified part. forms करो and करन्ते are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिष्यते and करिष्यते serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् to do; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर् m., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो m., in Kn., करों m. in Mw. and करों m. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किया or O. P. abl. aff. किश्वु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया m., किर्द f. done. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया gone, भा or भ for भया been, पा for पाया found in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सबः । रोस भरि ग प्रविराज ॥ i. e., in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled *Prathirāj* (= H. H. भर गया). The E. H. part. कदल्, M. केला, B.

¹⁾ Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उक्तर् and दृष्टर्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. Ls. 118 derives उक्त्रोरो from a supposed vulgar form उक्तर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a short अ before त् to produce त्; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कार्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कौर्य; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिल्^० presuppose an original form करिद् or करित् (§§ 109. 307). The st. form कर्यते m. (= Ap. करिअत) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंदु ललाट प्रसेद् । कर्यौं संकर गडाराङ् ॥ of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant (Revataṭa 3); or तिहि उपरु चामंडः कर्यौं हुस्सैन षान्न सज्जि ॥ upon this Chāmand made Hussain Khán ready (Revataṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइआ) in करिय अराज उमरात् the nobles made petition (Revataṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुज्जा करिय all assembling made adoration of him (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह समेल करि they (made) took counsel having made an assembly (Revataṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे^० n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चिये^० n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलादो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 38) and in Pr. अन्हेच्चयं ours, तुन्हेच्चयं yours (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अन्हक्करं and तुन्हक्करं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया gone). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अन्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अन्हक्करं, which shows that it is == *अन्हक्क्रयं = *अन्हक्क्रदयं == *अन्हक्करिणं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable अन्ह and having palatalised it into एच्. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्य (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 8). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form; i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर् (unlike त्य) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. का what (i. e., *chá* = *khá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किहा and W. H. क्या for *किहा (cf. P. obl. किह दा of whom); also the G. जो m., जी f., जूँ n. who for *हो, *ही, *हुँ (see § 438, 5)¹⁾. — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkanī gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दी f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देर, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिआं, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया given of the verb दे to give (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. given, just like the part. made, would easily produce the gen. sense „of“; e. g., the P. जंत्र दी वापी lit. the sound given by an instrument is the same as the sound of an instrument. — The S. gen. aff. are जो m., जी f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. अतिहा or अतेहा of such sort (Ld. 19) and the S. इको this (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको that (Tr. 202) = Skr. *एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एज्जाहो (Ls. 455, for *एटिआहो = *एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुजाडो what (cf. H. कुजा where) for Skr. *केवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. त (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. तिअनु to give (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नी f., नुँ n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or त् to प् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तपो, तपी, तपुँ, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel *a*; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., अह मगा कल्पाहं तपा that is the fortune of us). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तन्नी) and Mw. तपा or तपौ m., तपी f., तपाँ plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewārī gen. aff. को m., फो f., का or कै obl. (Kl. 68) and Konkanī लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral क, which appears to be a modification of the झ in the O. P. ता. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. जा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68, 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिक्षा f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिक्षै f., obl. संदे^१ or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिनि or संदित्तनि f.; in Ksh., with & sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संज् f., pl. संदि m., संज् f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंज् f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंज् f. (see Bs. II, 290)¹). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भु and भ्रस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts स and हं or हि being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. जनहंदो or Ksh. जनहिंदू of *men* being really जनहं or जनहिं + दो or दू; S. जनसंदो and Ksh. जनसंदू of *a man* being जनस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. जणस्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنج by संजह, which is hardly correct. The final س is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long a; e. g., ن = न *not*, ب = अ *with*, سب = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संजा *sanya* or संजा *sanjā*; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्ये *in the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मङ्के or मङ्कि or मङ्कहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gd. sets, one retaining कृ, the other changing it to हू (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माङ्के, S. मंके for Ap. मङ्के; the O. H. मङ्कि or मङ्कँ, E. H. माङ्कू for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. M. माङ्गी (or मांगी॒) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंको॑ or मंकाँ *from-within* for Ap. मङ्कुँ॑ or मङ्कह॑. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मङ्कि, and the O. H. माहै॑ or माही॑ or माही॒, E. H. and Br. माही॑, Mw. माहै॑ or माह॒॑ or मह॒॑ (for *मही॑) for Ap. मङ्कहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. मे॑ contr. from *महो॑ = मको॑ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कह॑; and W. H. मो॑ for *महो॑ = मको॑ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मङ्कुँ॑. Both, माँ and मो॑, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाइ॑ = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थायि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. मायि and S. मध्यe *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्यि or मध्ये for Skr. मस्ते *on the head* or *top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मयाँ॑ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिरू॒॑ *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरू॒॑ *on the head of*; c) the B. भितर् or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भोतर् *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gds. पर् or परि or पर॑ *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. परा॑ and S. or P. परो॑ *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पासू॑ = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासो॑ = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पाञ्चे॑ *by the side of*; f) the S. विच्चे, P. विचू॑, O. P. विच्चि, W. H. वीचू॑ *within* = Ap. विच्चे or विच्चि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ये lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच्च is said, to be a substitute for Skr. वर्त्मान; g) the M. त् अ॑, as in घरांत् *in a house*, कवांत् *in a poet*, मधूंत् *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. अंतो or अंते (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. अन्तर् *within*; and related to it, in all Gds., अंतर् = Ap. अंतर॑ (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. अन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ॑ in most Gds.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए' or अ॒ ए or अ॑ हि; c) loc. sg. in ऐ' or ए' in E. H., ई' in P., or loc. sg. and pl. in ई' in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अ॑ हि; d) loc. sg. in अ॑ in E. H., W. H., &c loc. sg. and pl. in अ॑ in M., for Ap. pl. अ॑ हि; e) loc. sg. in अ॑' or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अ॑ हुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

5. DECLÉNSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

1. Masculines in अ.

a) Short form: राम् Rám.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. राम्	राम्	रामन्लोग् or रामन्लोग्
acc. राम् or र० के	राम् or रामन् के	रामन्लोग् or गन् के or रामन्लोग् or र० के
instr. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
dat. राम् के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के or रामन्लोग् के
abl. राम् से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से or रामन्लोग् से
gen. राम् कै, र० के	रामन् कै, र० के	रामन्लोगन् कै, र० के or रामन्लोग् कै, र० के
loc. राम् मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे or रामन्लोगन् मे
voc. हे राम्	हे राम्	हे रामन्लोग् or हे रामन्लोग्

b) Long form: रमन्वा or रमन्वाँ.

nom. रमन्वा	रमन्वा	रमन्वालोग् or रमन्वालोग्
acc. रमन्वा or र० के	रमन्वा or रमन्वन् के	रमन्वालोग् or गन् के or रमन्वन्लोग् or र० के
instr. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से or रमन्वन्लोग् से
dat. रमन्वा के	रमन्वन् के	रमन्वालोगन् के or रमन्वन्लोग् के
abl. रमन्वा से	रमन्वन् से	रमन्वालोगन् से or रमन्वन्लोग् से
gen. रमन्वा कै, र० के	रमन्वन् कै, र० के	रमन्वालोगन् कै, र० के or रमन्वन्लोग् कै, र० के

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc. रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोग्न् मे or रमन्वन्लोग् मे
voc. हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोग् or हे रमन्वन्लोग्
c) Redundant form: रमौवा or रमौशा or रमौवाँ or रमौश्चाँ.		
nom. रमौवा	रमौवा	रमौवालोग् or रमौवन्लोग्
acc. रमौवा or र० के	रमौवा or °वन् के	रमौवालोग् or °ग्न् के or रमौवन्लोग् or र० के
instr. रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोग्न् से or रमौवन्लोग् से
dat. रमौवा के	रमौवन् के	रमौवालोग्न् के or रमौवन्लोग् के
abl. रमौवा से	रमौवन् से	रमौवालोग्न् से or रमौवन्लोग् से
gen. रमौवा कै, °के	रमौवन् कै, °के	रमौवालोग्न् कै, °के or रमौवन्लोग् कै, °के
loc. रमौवा मे	रमौवन् मे	रमौवालोग्न् मे or रमौवन्लोग् मे
voc. हे रमौवा	हे रमौवा	हे रमौवालोग् or हे रमौवन्लोग्

Note: The long and redundant forms in आ may be pronounced with a final *anunásika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमौवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घटन् कै of houses, बाघन् कै of tigers, not घटलोग्न् कै, बाघलोग्न् कै.

2. Masculines in आ.

a) Short form: बेटा son.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोग् or बेटन्लोग्
gen. बेटा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटालोग्न् कै, °के or बेटन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.
b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.		
nom. बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोग् or बेटन्वन्लोग्
gen. बेटन्वा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वालोग्न् कै, °के or बेटन्वन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.
c) Redundant form: बेटौवा or बेटौवाँ, etc.		
nom. बेटौवा	बेटौवा	बेटौवालोग् or बेटौवन्लोग्
gen. बेटौवा कै, °के, etc.	बेटौवन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटौवालोग्न् कै, °के or बेटौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

3. Masculines in इ.

a) Short form: दिखि rikhi patriarch.

nom. दिखि	दिखि	दिखिलोग् or दिखिन्लोग्
gen. दिखि कै, °के, etc.	दिखिन् कै, °के, etc.	दिखिलोग्न् कै, °के, etc. or दिखिन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दिविया or दिवियाँ.

Sing.

Simple plur.

Comp. plur.

nom. दिविया दिविया दिवियालोग् or दिवियन्लोग्

gen. दिविया कै, °के, etc. दिवियन् कै, °के, etc. दिवियालोगन् कै, °के of दिवियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दिवियवा or दिवियवाँ.

nom. दिवियवा दिवियवा दिवियवालोग् or दिवियवन्लोग्

gen. दिवियवा कै, °के, etc. दिवियवन् कै, °के, etc. दिवियवालोगन् कै, °के or दिवियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form: भाई brother.

nom. भाई भाई भाईलोग् or भाइन्लोग्

gen. भाई कै, °के, etc. भाइन् कै, °के, etc. भाईलोगन् कै, °के or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: भद्या or भैया or भद्याँ or भैयाँ.

nom. भैया भैया भैयालोग् or भैयन्लोग्

gen. भैया कै, °के, etc. भैयन् कै, °के, etc. भैयालोगन् कै, °के or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom. भैयवा भैयवा भैयवालोग् or भैयवन्लोग्

gen. भैयवा कै, °के, etc. भैयवन् कै, °के, etc. भैयवालोगन् कै, °के or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

5. Masculines in ऊ.

a) Short form: तहु tree.

nom. तहु

तहु

deest.

gen. तहु कै, °के, etc. तहुन् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: तहुवा or तहुवा or तहुवाँ or तहुवाँ.

nom. तहुवा

तहुवा

deest.

gen. तहुवा कै, °के, etc. तहुवन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: तहुववा or तहुववाँ.

nom. तहुववा

तहुववा

deest.

gen. तहुववा कै, °के, etc. तहुववन् कै, °के, etc.

6. Masculines in ऊ.

a) Short form: नाऊ barber.

nom. नाऊ

नाऊ

नाऊलोग्

or नाउन्लोग्

gen. नाऊ कै, °के, etc.

नाऊन् कै, °के, etc.

नाऊलोगन् कै, °के

or नाऊन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नौश्वा or नौश्वा or नौवा or नउश्वाँ etc.

Sing. Simple plur. Comp. plur.

nom. नौवा नौवा नौवालोग् or नौवन्लोग्

gen. नौवा कै, °के, etc. नौवन् कै, °के, etc. नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउश्वा or नौश्वा or नौश्वाँ, etc.

nom. नौश्वा नौश्वा नौश्वालोग् or नौश्वन्लोग्

gen. नौश्वा कै, °के, etc. नौश्वन् कै, °के, etc. नौश्वालोगन् कै, °के or नौश्वन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

7. Feminines in ा.

a) Short form: ब्रात् word, thing, event.

nom. ब्रात् ब्रात् deest.

gen. ब्रात् कै, °के, etc. ब्रातन् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: ब्रतिया or ब्रतियाँ.

nom. ब्रतिया ब्रतिया deest.

gen. ब्रतिया कै, °के, etc. ब्रतियन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: ब्रतियवा or ब्रतियवाँ.

nom. ब्रनियवा ब्रतियवा deest.

gen. ब्रतियवा कै, °के, etc. ब्रतियवन् कै, °के, etc.

8. Feminines in ा.

a) Short form: दुर्गा Durgā.

nom. दुर्गा दुर्गा दुर्गालोग् or दुर्गन्लोग्

gen. दुर्गा कै, °के, etc. दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom. दुर्गिया दुर्गिया दुर्गियालोग् or दुर्गियन्लोग्

gen. दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc. दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom. दुर्गियवा दुर्गियवा दुर्गियवालोग् or दुर्गियवन्लोग्

gen. दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc. दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc. दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि fire.

nom. आगि आगि deest.

gen. आगि कै, °के, etc. आगिन् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: शगिया or शगियाँ.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. शगिया	शगिया	
gen. शगिया कै, °के, etc.	शगियन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: शगियवा or शगियवाँ.

nom. शगियवा	शगियवा	
gen. शगियवा कै, °के, etc.	शगियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी staff.

nom. लाठी	लाठी	
gen. लाठी कै, °के, etc.	deest. (§ 362, exc.)	deest.

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom. लठिया	लठिया	
gen. लठिया कै, °के, etc.	लठियन् कै, के, etc.	deest.

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom. लठियवा	लठियवा	
gen. लठियवा कै, °के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.	deest.

11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू daughter-in-law.

nom. बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or बहुन्लोग्
gen. बहू कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहूलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुन्लोगन् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुवा or बहुआ or बहुचरा, etc.

nom. बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or बहुअन्लोग्
gen. बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुआन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुअन्लोगन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुश्ववा or बहुश्ववाँ.

nom. बहुश्ववा	बहुश्ववा	बहुश्ववालोग्	or बहुश्ववन्लोग्
gen. बहुश्ववा कै, °के, etc.	बहुश्ववन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुश्ववालोगन् कै, °के	or बहुश्ववन्लोगन् कै, °के, etc.

SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् thick, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड़ा great, lg. f. बड़क्का or बड़का, red. f. बड़क्कवा or बड़कवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड़ी, lg. f. बड़क्की or बड़की, red. f. बड़क्किया or बड़किया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. मारी heavy, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गर् heavy, lg. f. *masc.* गरुक्का or गरुका, *fem.* गरुक्की or गरुकी, red. f. *masc.* गरुक्कवा or गरुकवा, *fem.* गरुक्किया or गरुकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in श admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in श and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., आ m., ई f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लाम् long, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लाम्, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, ऊच् high, st. f. *masc.* ऊचा, *fem.* ऊची, etc. Adj. in ई and ऊ exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in इ and ऊ are obsolete. Thus आ f., *com. gen.*, मारी heavy, हलू light; the wk. f. मारि, हलू or हलु occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ई admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. ईं to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भरिईं heavy. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिऊँका m., भरिऊँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठन्का (not सेठन्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. best, Skr. श्रेष्ठः); or मिठका आम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका आम् any sweet mangoe.

2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final आ to ई, and redundant adj. अका to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मोठू sweet, छोटू small, etc., and the st. f. भारी heavy, हलू light, etc. are gen. com.; but st. f. masc. मोठा, छोटा, fem. मोठी, छोटी, etc., and lg. f. masc. मिठका or मिठङ्का, fem. मिठकी or मिठङ्की, etc., and red. f. masc. मिठकवा, fem. मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gds. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in आ (E. and S. Gd. and P.) or झो or औ (W. and N. Gd.). Thus masc. B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कारा black, M., P. काझा, G. काझो, S. कारो; fem. B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काझी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in आ. In S. the weak forms in इ (corresp. to अ in the other Gds.) have a fem. in ई or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gds. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु half, fem. अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. masc. or fem. आध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus fem. करति, of masc. करत् doing, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. करतिस् if thou didst (fem.); or कइलि fem., of कइल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. कइलिस् thou didst; करेहि fem., of करेव्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. करेबिस् thou wilt do, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and ई cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in आ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or ई in Gd.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. इ and इया see § 262.

3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or ब्रांा change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form*, nom. sg. इ मीठा आम् बाटै this is a sweet mangoe; *obl. form*, acc. sg. ऊ मोटे आम् के खैलेस् he ate a sweet mangoe; *dir. f.*, nom. sg. ऊ मिठका आम् बाटै that is a sweet mangoe; *obl. f.*, acc. sg. ऊ मिठके आम् के खैलेस् he ate a sweet mangoe; *dir. f.*, nom. sg. शोकरू अहा धोरा बाटै his is a good horse; *obl. f.*, loc. sg. ऊ अहे धोरा परू चडल् बाटै he is mounted on a good horse. Again, *dir. f.*, nom. pl. इ मीठा आम् बाटै these are sweet mangoes; *obl. f.*, acc. pl. ऊ मीठे आमन् के खैलेस् he ate sweet mangoes; *dir. f.*, nom. pl. ऊ मिठका आम् बाटै those are sweet mangoes; *obl. f.*, acc. pl. ऊ मिठके आमन् के खैलेस् he ate sweet mangoes; *dir. f.*, nom. pl. शोकरू अहा धोरा बाटै his are good horses; *obl. f.*, loc. pl. ऊ अहे धोरे परू चडल् बाटै they are mounted on good horses.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gds. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे धोरा कै of a big horse, Br. बडे धोडा कौ, M. बडे धोड़ा चा; but Mw. बड़ा धोडा रो, G. बडा धोडा नो, P. बडे धाडे दा, S. बडे धाडे जो, B. बडा धोड़ा-रु, etc. In all Gds. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे धोरन् कै of big horses, Br. बड़े धोड़ौं कौ, M. बडे धोड़ूँ चा, Mw. बडा धोड़ौं रो, G. बडा धोडाक् नो, P. बडे धोडिअँदा, S. बडे धोडे जो

or बड़े^० थोड़े^० जो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gds.

4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. स), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् all in the abl. case; e. g., ओकरे मोरु बर्दा से मोरु बर्दा अद्धा बाटै my bullock is better than his fat bullock; ओह से बग greater than he; इ सब् से मिठका आम् बाटै this is the sweetest mangoe, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छी स अच्छी तरकारी the best vegetable; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउरू के भात् the best (cooked) rice. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बड़का बाटै which is the elder one; उ छोटका बाटै that is the younger one.

389. *Affinities.* In all Gds. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. ओह से बग greater than he, B. ताहा हइते बड़, O. ताहा-रु बड़, M. त्याहून् बड़ा, Br. बा सो^० बड़ो, Mw. उण् सूँ बड़ो, G. आ थी बड़ो; P. उहूते बग, S. हुन खाँ बड़ो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बग greatest, B. सकल् हइते ब^०, O. सकल-रु ब^०, M. सर्वाहून् ब^०, Br. सब् सो^० ब^०, Mw. सब् सूँ ब^०, G. सभ थी ब^०, P. सब् ते ब^०, S. सभ खाँ ब^०.

THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक्	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. बाइस्	42. बयालिस्	62. बासठि	82. ब्यासी
3. तीनि	23. तेस्	43. तैँतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौँसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँच्	25. पचोस्	45. पैँतालिस्	65. पैँसठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छालिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छाष्ठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैँतालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्तासी
8. आठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अडतालिस्	68. अडसठि	88. अट्टासी
9. नौ	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहन्नर	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तोस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर्	90. नल्ले
11. ऐयारह्	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐखत्तर्	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह्	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर्	92. बानबे
13. तेरह्	33. तैँतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर्	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह्	34. चौँतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर्	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्दरह्	35. पैँतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पहत्तर्	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह्	36. छत्रिस्	56. छपन्	76. छिहत्तर्	96. छानबे
17. सतरह्	37. सैँतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सथत्तर्	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह्	38. अडतिस्	58. अट्टावन्	78. अठत्तर्	98. अट्टानबे
19. ओनहस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनसी	99. निनानबे
20. छीस्	40. चालिस्	80. सानि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above a *hundred*; thus:

1. यैक्	*5. पच्*	or 11. इयारह्	or 38. अर्तिस्	or 54. चौष्णन्
2. दो*	पाच्	यारह्	अडतिस्	चउश्न्
3. तिन्*	छह्*	15. पनरह्	44. चवालिस्	55. पचपन्
तीन्	छव्	24. चवबिस्	चउआलिस्	67. सडसठि
4. चारू*	7. सत्*	चउबिस्	48. अर्तालिस्	सतसठि
चारू	8. अह्	30. तिस्*	अडतालिस्	68. अरसठि

71. एकहत्तर	78. अठहत्तर् or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै** or
75. पचहत्तर्	अठनवत्तर्*	99. निन्यानबे or	सो** or
77. सतहत्तर्	84. चवरासी	‘ निन्यानबे	सल्

The final syllables °बिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled °बीस्, °तीस्, °लोस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तैँतिस् or तैँतीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 एकइस्, not एकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 काष्ठाठि or काष्ठाठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable ओन्° may also be spelled वन्°; thus 19 ओनइस् or वनइस्, 79 ओनासी or वनासी.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक सै एक	103. एक सै तीन्	105. एक सै पाँच्	210. दुड सै दस्
102. एक सै दुड	104. एक सै चार्	200. दुड सै	220. दुड सै बीस्
		300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र्
		400. चार् सै	100,000. लाख्
			10,000,000. कोँरा

1874. एक सहस्र् आठ सै चौहत्तर्
2,154,210. एकइस् लाख् चाबन् सहस्र् दुड सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाड़ा).^{*} Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उत्तर् above, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओत्तर्); thus 108 is अठोत्तरसो, i. e., अठ + उत्तर् + सो *eight-above-hundred*. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel ए is interposed, instead of उत्तर्, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksāttháso*, 152 *bavānnáso*, 112 *barāháso*, etc. Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following :

101. एकोत्तरसो	117. सतराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्रसो
102. दिलोत्तरसो	118. अठराहासो	141. एकतालसो, etc.	171. एब्बरसो
103. तिलोत्तरसो	119. श्रोनैसासो	149. श्रोनचासासो	179. श्रोनुसीसो
104. चलोत्तरसो	120. ब्रीसासो	150. उेझसौ	180. अस्सीसो
105. पिचोत्तरसो	121. ऐकैसासो	151. ऐक्यवन्नासो	181. ऐक्यासीसो
106. छिलोत्तरसो	122. ब्रद्दसासो	152. ब्रवन्नासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोत्तरसो	123. तेइसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	124. चांब्रीसासो	154. चौवन्नासो	191. ऐक्यानब्बेसो
109. निगरोत्तरसो	125. पचीसासो	155. पनचौनासो	192. ब्रानब्बेसो
110. दहोत्तरसो	126. क्षद्धीसासो	156. क्षपन्नासो	193. तिरानब्बेसो
111. ऐगरोत्तरसो	127. सतैसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानब्बेसो
112. ब्रहोत्तरसो	128. अठैसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानब्बेसो
113. तेरहोत्तरसो	129. श्रोनतीसासो	159. श्रोनसयासो	196. छानब्बेसो, etc.
114. चौदहोत्तरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानब्बेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासो, etc.	161. ऐकसद्गासो, etc.	200. दुइ सौ
116. सोराहासो	139. श्रोनतालसो	169. श्रोनहत्तरसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals :

101. इकोत्तरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. श्रोनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दियोत्तरसो	114. चौदाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. छियोत्तरसो	115. पन्द्रहोत्तरसो	155. पचयन्नासो	165. पैंसठसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	116. सोराहोत्तरसो	159. श्रोनसयासो	166. छाँठसो
111. इगरोत्तरसो	117. सतराहोत्तरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्रसिसो
112. ब्राहासो	118. अठराहोत्तरसो	162. ब्रासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gds. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gd. differs from the W. and S. Gd., in the third the W. Gd. from the E. and S. Gd. — Firstly; in E. Gd. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. अह्, इस् or ब्रिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gd. it is long (viz. आँ or अहौं, ईस् or ब्रौस्, तीस्, लौस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेर	तेरह्	तेरा	तेराँ
14.	चौद	चौहू	चौदह्	चौदा	चौदाँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेइस्	तेइ
24.	चविश्	चविश्	चौबिस्	चौबीस्	चौबी
32.	बत्रिश्	बत्रिश्	बत्रिस्	बतोस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पय॑तालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली
	S.	M.	G.	H. H.	
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्	
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	बउद	चौदह्	
23.	टेवीह	तेवीस	ब्रेवीश्	तेइस्	
24.	चोवीह	चौवीस्	चोवीश्	चौबीस्	
32.	बट्रीह	बत्रीस्	बत्रिश्	बतोस्	
46.	पंज्यतालीह	पञ्चेचालीस्	पश्चतालीश्	पैँतालीस्	

Secondly; in E. Gd. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gd. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिनि	तीन्	त्रण्	ट्रे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार	चार	चार	चार	चारि	चार
60.	षाठिए	षाठि	साठि	साहू	संठ	साहू	सठि	साहू	साहू

With regard to सत्तर् *seventy* alone, all Gd. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि से *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gd. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gd. either the conjunct त्र् or the whole increment चत्र् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकेचालोस्	एकचालिश्	एकचलिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयालिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	ब्राएतालीह	बतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेतालिश्	तेँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तैतालीश्
44.	चव्वेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयालिश्	चौबालिस्	चौताली	च्वेतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पङ्चालिश्	पय॑तालिश्	पै॒तालिस्	पै॒ताली	पंजतालीह	पश्चतालीश्
46.	श्रोचालीस्	क्षयालिश्	इचलिश्	क्षियालिश्	क्षिताली	क्षाएतालीह	क्षृतालीश्
47.	सत्त्वेचालीस्	सत्तचालिश्	सत्तचलिश्	सै॒तालिस्	सै॒ताली	सतेतालीह	शुउतालीश्
48.	श्रद्धेचालीस्	श्रठचालिश्	श्राठचलिश्	श्रठतालिश्	श्रठताली	श्रेतालीस्	श्रउतालीश्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final स् of बोस्, तीस्, लीस्, जास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. बोह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. दीह् 30, S. देवीह् 23, वर्दीह् 32, P. तेर्ह् or त्रेर्ह्, बती or बत्री, S. चालीह्, P. चाली 40, S., P. पंजाह् 50, S. बारंजाह्, P. बवंजा 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साठ् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाहट्, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes र् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्तर् 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to व्, except O.; thus 71 B. एकातर् (= *एकश्वतर् = एकहतर्), E. H. एखतर् or एकहतर्, W. H. एकहतर्, P. इकहतर्, S. एकहतरि, M. एकाहतर्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= *एकस्तुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of बोस् or बोह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिश् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिश्, P. इकत्री or इकत्री, S. एकट्रीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिश्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. दीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चलिश् 40 and its compounds, as एकचलिश् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. सष्ट् 60 in compounds, as एकसष्ट् 61, बासष्ट् 62, etc.; but साठ् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नमे॒ for नवे॑ 90 in compounds, as इकानवे॑ or इकानमे॒ 91, etc.; but नवे॑ or नब्बे॑ 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अह्, while the others contract it to अ॑ or आ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारह्, but P. बार॑ह् (= *बार॑ह्), M. बारा, W. H. बारा, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार्.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms यक्, यैक् and इक् see §§ 170, 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एओ (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., एगरोतरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगरोतरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोनि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. दूँ (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form दे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. दे and S. अ; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तीनि regularly for Pr. तिलि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोलि, तिलि, चत्वारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or *द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gd. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तथो (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gd. Pr. has also the masc. चत्वारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चतुरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gd.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आठ regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट् = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंज, P. सत्त, अट्, S. सत, अन, B. आट. — 6. छ, also Pr. छ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. पट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to छ् (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. छ; E. H. has a form छह which occurs also in S. छह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षट्, Pr. *क्षस or *क्षह with final ष् (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form क्षव् corresponding to B. क्ष्य, O. क्ष्य, W. H. and P. छ, with euphonic व् or य् for elided छ्; Pr. has also क्षम्य see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नष् (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नष् and B. नष्य; P. नो० and S. नैव० add an anunásika. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Rh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह (Bs. II, 138). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gd. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. *एकारह,

E. H. एथारह or इथारह or यथारह. As to its euphonic य्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gd.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. अकार् have it not; while W. H. यथारह, P. गिथारैँ, G. अगिथार् have it. The other P. form एथारह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. वारहैँ. The Pr. has also दस्, रस् (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gd. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. वारह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. बारह, B., O., G. बार्, M., W. H. बारा, P. बारैँ, S. बारहैँ. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)¹⁾, E. H. तेरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउदहू (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदहू; other Gds. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पमरह (H. C. 2, 43, but पमरहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पनरह (§ 392 and in पनराहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पमारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gd. form, however, inserts an euphonic दू (§ 135), as E. H. पंदरह, O. पंदर्, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदरैँ, S. पंदरहैँ or पंडैँ, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोका, P. सोलैँ, S. सोरहैँ, G. सोङ. — 17. Skr. सप्तवश्च, Pr. सत्रह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतरह; other Gds. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्टारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अठार्, S. अठहैँ (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gds., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. उनविंशतिः, Mg. उनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. ऊनिश्, O. उणाइश्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. आगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. आगणीस्; the P. has उन्नीह and S. उणीह or उणिवीह with ह for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) आ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptā*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first अ together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first अ together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

abic numerals only *sapti* and *ashtā* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *eka*, *pāñcha*, *ndva*, *dasa*, etc.; now Gd. has शा in सत्तास्, छठास्, but च or ई (for अ॒) in एकास् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचौस् (for पच्चास्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सप्तदश, सप्तविंशत्; in Pr. and Gd. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैँतिस्, 38 अ॒तिस्, 47 सैँतालिस्, 48 अ॒तालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अ॒ only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. बोसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बोसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. बिंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसमा (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. बत्तोसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double त्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैँतिस् regularly for Pr. तेज्जोसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयत्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 पैँतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैँतीस्, P. पैँती, G. पैँतिश्; but M. पत्तीस् (Man. 43, for पस्तीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंजटीह. — 37 सैँतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैँतीस्, P. सैँती, B. सैँइतिश्; but M. सत्तोस् or सततीस्, G. सातत्रिश्, S. सतटीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अ॒तोसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अ॒तिश्, B. आठत्रिश्, S. अठटीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अ॒उतीस्, E. H. अ॒तिस् (§ 113) or अ॒तिस् or अ॒तिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आउत्रिश्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एक्कावतालीसा or (eliding च) *एकावतालीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying तालिस् with चालिस्, assumes a change of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्वालीसा = एकचालीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 ते॑तालिस् (see § 152), 49 शोनतालिस्, 45 पै॑तालिस् (see § 156), 47 सै॑तालिस्, 48 अ॒तालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अउयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च and the conjunct अ॒ न्त are elided; so also in

the Gd. forms: 42 बयालिस्, 44 चौबालिस्, 46 छियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gds. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पचाशत्, Pr. *पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंजाह and S. पंजाह. The common Pr. form is पचासा (Vr. 3; 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or वन् of the compound numerals of the 6th decade of all Gds., exc. P. and S.; thus वन् in 52 E. H. आवन्, W. H., G. dto., O. आश्वन्, B. आउन्, M. आवन्, Pr. आवनं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापचाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्रावन्, Pr. *सत्रावसा or °सि, Skr. सपुष्पचाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. आठावन्, M. आटावन्, Pr. *आटूवसं, Skr. अष्टापचाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्, Pr. पंचावसा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पचपचाशत्; B. contracts सातान् 57, आठान् 58, पंचान् 55. The other E. H. form पचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form *पंचपसा. There is another Pr. form पणवसा (H. C. 2, 174) or पणवन् (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gd. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. छपन्, O., G. छपन्, B. छापन्, M. छपन्, Pr. *छपसा, Skr. षष्ठपचाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्, O. तेपन्, B. तिपान् presuppose a Ap. Pr. form *त्रिपसा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपचाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवसा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gd.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन् or चौपन्, regularly for Pr. *चउपसा, Skr. चतुःपचाशत्; but in E. H. चौमन् or चउमन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चौयान् the conjunct व् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 शोनचास्, with the syllable श pa elided, precisely as च cha in शोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. उनपचाशत्, Pr. उणवंचासा or उणपंचासा, whence B. उनपंचास्, G. शोगापचाश्, S. उणिक्काह, P. उणवंजा or उणंजा, O. उन्चाश्, E. H. शोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुणापन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. देवंजाह, P. तिवंजा or तिरवंजा 53; S. चोवंजाह, P. चोवंजा or चुवंजा 54; S. पंजवंजाह, P. पंचवंजा 55; S. छवंजाह, P. छिवंजा or छिवंजा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. पष्टि, Pr. सट्टौ (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साठू, P. सटू, S. सठि; the O. साठिए adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सष्टि, S. हठि and P. हट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट, 62 in O. बान्धासठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठि, W. H. त्रेसहू or तिरसहू, M. त्रेसष्टृ, P. तेहटू or त्रेहटू, S. द्रेहठि; 65. B. पर्यँसठि, M. पर्यँसष्टृ, W. H. पैर्यँसहू, P. पैर्यँहटू, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाठू, S. पंतहठि; 66. O. क्षमसठि, M. सातष्टृ, S. छाहठि, W. H. क्षियाहटू, P. क्षिश्वाहटू, B. क्षसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सडसठि or सर्सठि, M. सतसष्टृ or सदसहू, W. H. सर्सहू, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सत्राहटू; 68. E. H. अउसठि or अर्सठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अउसष्टृ or अउसहू, W. H. अउसहू or अर्सहू, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहटू, B. आठसठि; 69. B. उनसज्जरू, all others regularly °हन्नरू, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 वाकटि, 64 चोयटौ (but also चउसटौ), 66 छाकटि, and even 61 एगटि, 67 सज्जटि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सन्नरू see § 108; so also in the other Gds. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बान्धास्तुरि, B. बाहान्नरू, S. बाहन्नरि, M. बाहन्नरू; 73. M. त्रेहन्नरू or त्राहन्नरू, B. तेहान्नरू, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चोर्यहन्नरू; 75. M. पंचहन्नरू; 76. O. क्षमस्तुरि; B. क्षेयान्नरू, S. छाहन्नरि, M. प्राहन्नरू or प्रेहन्नरू (see § 55); 77. B. सातान्नरू, M. सत्याहन्नरू or सत्तेहन्नरू, P. सतन्नरू; 78. B. आठान्नरू, P. अठन्नरू, M. अठ्याहन्नरू or अठेहन्नरू. — 80. Skr. अप्रीतिः; but Pr. आस्तैऽ॒ with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आप्री; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्ती with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. अस्ती and O. अप्री one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँप्री and G. ऐँस्ती, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gds. have आस्ती, exc. M., which आयँप्री; thus 81. E. H. एव्यास्ती, M. एव्यायँप्री; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. बियाप्री, M. व्यायँप्री, P., S. बिन्धास्ती, O. अयाप्री, B., E. H., W. H. बयप्री. — 86. O. इयाप्री, M. प्रायँप्री, S. इहास्ती; 83. M. आयँप्री, G. तेआस्ती or तास्ती; 84. Pr. चउरास्ती (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्यँप्री; 87. M. सत्यायँप्री; 88. M. क्षट्यायँप्री; 89. M. नव्यायँप्री, E. H., W. H. नवास्ती are Skr. नवाप्रीतिः; but M. has also एकुणनबूदू, B. उननबूदू, O. उणनउ, P. उणानवे॑, S. उणानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउ (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नब्बे, O. नब्बे, B. नब्बह, M. नब्बद्, W. H. नब्बे, S. नबे, P. नब्बे or नब्बे; these Gd. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form *नब्बए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नबे, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. विश्वानवे, M. व्यासव; 93. S. दिश्वानवे, M. व्यासव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चौरानवे, M. चौर्यासव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्रानउ 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानवे, S. सतानवे, M. सत्यासव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. निवानवृह, M. नव्यासव (with euph. य् see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति; the E. H. and W. H. निनानवे or नियानवे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नउनवे or नउन्मे (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानवे or वधानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has अनेप्रात्, perhaps for Skr. उनशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. प्रतेषु, and E. H., P. सै, B. प्रा, O. प्राणे, M. प्रे^० is the Mg. Pr. सञ्च or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gd. preserves it; e. g., 107 सतुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15^a), S. सतोत्तरसौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पंतोत्तरसौ, E. H. पिचोत्तरसो (§ 55); 106. S. छहोत्तरसौ, E. H. छियोत्तरसौ or छिलोत्तरसौ (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोत्तरसौ (for चुलो^०, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसौ, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तरसौ or तियो^०, S. दिरोत्तरसौ, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तरसौ or दियो^० (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तरसौ, M. दुबोत्तरप्रे^० are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be षुडुत्तरप्रातं, चतुर्हत्तरं, च्युत्तरं, द्युत्तरं^०? Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तरसौ 107 (for *सतोत्तरसौ) and निगरोत्तरसौ 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बराहासो, S. बारहो सौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासो, S. पन्द्रराहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second अ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. द्वौहो a sum of thirty, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. द्वौहो सौ 130, i. e., 100 plus the sum of 30, or E. H. तेरहाँ, S. तेरहो sum of thirteen, whence E. H. तेरहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै of five, etc. But दुइ two and तीनि three have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् two and तीनो three; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै of two, तीनो कै of three. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच जनन् कै of five men, दुइ जनन् कै of two men, तीनि जनन् कै of three men.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोँहोँ, तिहोँ, चौहोँ for दोन् two, तीन् three and चार् four (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोघे m., दोधी f., दोघे[ं] n. two; similarly तिघे, तिधी, तिघे[ं] three, चौघे, चौधी, चौघे[ं] four (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा of one, दोँहोँ च्म or दोघाँ चा of two. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी॒, द्विनि or द्वी॒, चृनि or चृद॑ for अ two, दे॑ three, चारि॑ four; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि ज्ञो of two, पंजनि ज्ञो of five, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि ले or दहे॑ बैरिटै॑ ले to ten enemies; बिनि or बी॒ बैरिनि ले बी॒ बैरिटै॑ ले to two enemies. — In the E. H. form दुन्हुन् the conjunct न्ह has been dissolved (see § 138). The second अ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for *दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोपहं or बेपहं of two (H. C. 3, 119), तिपहं of three (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी॒, द्वी॒ or slightly modified बिनि, द्विनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोँहोँ would presuppose the Pr. form *दोपहुं or *दोपहपह, etc.

2. ORDINALS.

• 400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईं (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एं (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसरब् c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसरबाँ or दुसरका m., °री or °रईं or °रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसरब् c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसरबाँ or तिसरका m., °री or °रईं or °रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चतुर् or चौथब् c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथबाँ or चौथरका m., °धी or °थईं or °रकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. छटब् c. g., or st. f. छटा or छटबाँ m., छटी or छटईं f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचब् c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचबाँ m., पची or पंचईं f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातब् c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तबाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईं f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले कै of the *first*, दसवे कै of the *tenth*; fem. पहिली कै, दसईं कै, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला कै of the *first one*, pl. पहिलन् कै of the *first ones*; but पहिले जन् कै of the *first man*, पहिले जनन् कै of the *first men*, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहेला or पहिला (S. Ch. 105. Ba. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलौ or पहिलौ or °लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरों or पेहेरों or पहयों. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (chauthō) or चौथा (S. Ch. 105), M. चतुर्था, W. H. चौथी (Br.) or चौथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चौथो, S. चौथों. — The E. H. कटा, B. and O. *deest*, W. H. कटौ or कटो, G. कटो are derived from Pr. कटुओ, st. f. of Pr. कटो (H. C. I, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. क्लेबाँ, S. क्लहों are formed anomalously (as if Skr. *षष्ठमः) from the Gd. cardinals M. सहा, P. के, S. कह. The E. H.

forms छठवाँ, दुसर्व or दुसर्वाँ anomalously contain the suff. अब् or अवाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसरका, तिसरका contain the pleon. suff. अका (see § 198). The form चौथरका is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसरका, तिसरका. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265, 266.

3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. आ or आँ or आईँ, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. ऐक् or ऐकै or के or कं | 6. छक् or छक्का or छक्के or छाक् |
| 2. द्वनी | 7. सते |
| 3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिरिका
or त्रिके or तिरिके or ति | 8. अठे or आठू |
| 4. चौक् or चौक्का | 9. नवाँ or नवाईँ |
| 5. पचा or पचे or पुरे | 10. दहाँ or दहाईँ, etc. |

403. The forms ऐक् and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐक् एक् or ऐकै एक् once one is one; and पचा only in पचा पचोस् five times five are twenty five. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पैँ five, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् five, पंदरह् fifteen and पचोस् twenty five). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठू, छक् or छाक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10×1 is 10, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् छके साठि
दस् द्वनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्ती
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ

3×1 is 3, etc.,

तीन् के तीन्	तीन् छाक् ब्राह्मण
तीन् द्वनी छ	तीन् सते एकइस्
तीन् त्रियाँ नी	तीन् अठे चौबिस्
तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
तीन् पचे पंदरह्	तीन् दहाईँ तीस्

13×1 is 13, etc.

तेरह के तेरह	तेरह छाक् अठन्नचरू
तेरह दूनी छोंबिस्	तेरह सते ऐक्यानब्बे
जेरह ति वनतालिस्	तेरह शाहू चलोतरसो
तेरह चौका बावन्	तेरह नवाँ सतरहाँसो
तेरह पुरे पैंसठि	तेरह दहाँई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक	चरू के चारू	सतू के सातू	दहाँई दसू
दु के दुइ	पचू के पाँचू	शहू के शाहू	
तीनू के तीनू	इ के इहू	नवाँई नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पचू के पाँचू	चारू पचे छोस्	सातू पुरे पैंतिस्	दसू पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दसू	पचा पचेस्	शाहू पचे चालिस्	इग्यारहू पुरे पंचावन्
तीनू पचे पंदरहू	इ पचे तीसू	नौ पुरे पैंतालिस्	बारहू पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in आ, as इते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीनू अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four*.

4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी a pair, चौकरा or रोँी or गंडा a four, गाही a five, कोडी a score, सैकरा a hundred, सहस्र् a thousand, लाख् a hundred thousand, कोँरा or लंगोर् ten millions. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or अौ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा a score, तीसा a thirty, चलीसा a forty, also एका a one, पंचा a five, सता a seven, अठा a eight, नवाँ a nine, दहाँ a ten, etc. The multiplicatives दूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, छाक् or छाका may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in आ (*quiescent*) or अ are masc.; those in इ fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. Affinities. These numerals probably occur in all Gds., though they are not noticed by all Gd. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एको or हिको 1, द्विको 2, त्रिको 3, चतुर्को or चतुर्कू or चतुर्कडी 4, पंतो 5, छको 6, सितो 7, अठो 8, नाँझो^१ 9, उहो^२ or उहाको 10, बीहो or बीहारो or बिहारो or कोडी 20, द्वीहो or द्वीहारो or द्विहारो 30, चालीहो or चालच्छारो (for *चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पंजाही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिडी 100, सहस्र or हजार 1000 (Tr. 168), लाखु 100000, कोरे or किरोडि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काऊँ 1, दूणी 2, तिआऊँ or तिअराऊँ 3, चौका 4, पाँडा 5, छका 6, साता 7, आठा 8, नाइयाँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोडी or बीहडी or बीहा 20, पंजाहा 50, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हजार 1000, लक्ख 100000, करोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, दूना or दूनी or जोडा or जोडी 2, ती or तीन् 3, पंजा 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोडी or बीसा^३ 20, सैकडा 100, सहस्र or हजार 1000, करोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बतीसी *a thirty two*, पचीसी *a fifty*, etc. In M. सहस्र or हजार 1000, लाखु 10000, कोट or क्रोड 10000000.

408. Derivation. Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gd. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिर्यं, W. H. ती, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. बीसां, E. H. बीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. छट्कं, E. H. छाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउद्धं, E. H. चौकू; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचां, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिर्यं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउद्धं, Skr. चतुष्कम्; *hexad*, E. H. छाका, Pr. छट्कं, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोँरा or न्कोँडा, Pr. कोटिङ्गं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or *कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or डा, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकडो, Ap. Pr. चउद्धउड, Skr. चतुष्कृ; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकडो, Ap. Pr. सयछाउड, Skr. प्रातकू, etc.; perhaps also E. H. जोरा, W. H. जोडो, Ap. Pr. *त्रूपउड (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विन्नं = Skr. विदान्).

Skr. द्विक०, though this might be a noun derived from the R. तुदू¹ or तुडू join. Sometimes the „collective“ sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. नाई (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई unit, E. H. नवाई nine, दहाई decade, etc. — Differently derived is द्वूता m. and द्वूती f. duad, viz. from Pr. दुउपास्त (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणाकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोर see §§ 138, 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. aggregate of four sides (?); so is also the E. H. गाहो, lit. the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोटी or कोडी score I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौडी, (Skr. कर्पटक) aggregate of twenty shells (?).

5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; अकेहरा onefold, single, दुहरा or दोहरा twofold, double, तेहरा threefold, triple, चौहरा fourfold, quadruple. The rest are made by adding the word बार or बेर time to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार or पाँच बेर five times, quintuple, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities.* The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंजौहरा or पंजउहरा, 6 केश्वरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal“ suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंजौहरम् quintuple, just as पंजभाँ or पंजधाँ fifth (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 हेकर or हेकार, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 टिहर or टिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट strip instead of हरा; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लडा string, e. g., 3 तिलडा, 4 चौलडा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see §. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the quasi-suff. विधि (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह्, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. त् (see § 209, or in S. शार्), arises the E. H. हर्. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: २ दुविह्, ४ चतुविह्, ५ पंचविह्, ६ षष्ठिविह्, or contracted १ एगाहिय्, २ वेहिय्, ३ तेहिय् (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध् *twofold*, Pr. दुविह् (H. C. 1, 94) or वेविह्, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउ or वेहउ, and W. H. दोहरौ or E. H. दोहरा, S. विहर्. The S. form विहार् presupposes an Ap. Pr. वेहश्चउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. इ and Gd. हर् might be also derived from the Skr. quasi-suff. ध 'or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

$\frac{1}{2}$	*आध् or *आधा	$\frac{1}{16}$	सोरही or सोरहिया
$\frac{1}{3}$	तिहाई or तिहडिया or तिहैया	$1\frac{1}{4}$	*सवा or सवाई or सवडिया or सवैया
$\frac{1}{4}$	*पात्र or *पात्र or	$1\frac{1}{2}$	*उड्हु or उड्डा or उड्ढे or देड्हु or देड्डा or देड्ढे
	चौथाई or चौथडिया or चौथैया	$2\frac{1}{2}$	*आडा or अडाई or अडडिया or अडैया
$\frac{1}{10}$	दहाई or दहडिया or दहैया	$8\frac{1}{4}$	पातन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक् पात्र सेर् *one fourth of a ser*; आध् सेर् or आधा सेर् *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर् *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर् *one ser and a quarter*; उड्हु सेर् *one ser and a half*; पौने दुह सेर् *one ser and three quarters* (lit., *one quarter less than two sers*); सवा दुह सेर् *two sers and one quarter*; आडा सेर् or अडाई सेर् *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर् *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. आधी (§ 384), and obl. form आधे (§ 386). Thus आधे राति *midnight*, आधे मात् मे *at half-way*. —

415. *Affinities.* These fractionals occur in all Gds., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. पान्हो or चौथाई, P. पातः or चुथाई, S. पातः or चौये or चौथाई or चौथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौटि or सिकि, O. पा or पाएः; $\frac{1}{8}$, W. H., P. सिहाई, S. ट्रिहाई, B. तिहाइ; $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. आधू or आधौ, P. अठ or अठा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अर्थो, M. अर्था, B. आधू or अर्थ or अर्थक्, G. अध or अर्थ or अर्थक्; $\frac{3}{4}$, W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पातपा; $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाई or सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सबा, B. सउया; $1\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. डेझु or डैझा or डेझोझा, P. डेझु or डूझु or डूझा or डेझा, S. डेझु or डेझे, G. डोझ, M. दोझ, B. देझु, O. देझु; $2\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. अडाई or ढामा or ढाम्, P. ढाई or ढाइआ or ढाया, S. अडाई, G. ढहो or हडो, B. अडाई, O. अडाई; $3\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. हैंटा or होटा, P. ऊठा or ऊटा or ऊटा or ऊटा; $4\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. होँचा, P. होँचा (or पौचा?); $5\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. पोँचा, (P. पौँचा?); $6\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. लोँचा; $7\frac{1}{2}$, W. H. सतोँचा. Again *minus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., B., O., P. पौने, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पातपो or पातपो; *plus* $\frac{1}{4}$, W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सबा, B. सउया, O. सउआइ; *plus* $\frac{1}{2}$, W. H., P., O. साठे, S. साडा (or साढु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation.* आधू or आधा regularly for Pr. अठो or अठन्हो, Skr. अर्धः or अर्धकः: — तिहाई, चौथाई, दहाई, सोरही are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The हू in तिहाई is probably merely euphonie, for तिश्वाई = तीश्वाई = Pr. तहश्व० (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय०. — पातः or पाव् (or H. H. पान्हो) regularly for Ap. Pr. पातः, Pr. पान्हो, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाय् or पाएः = Mg. पाएः or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवातः, Pr. सवान्हो, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाइ, Mg. सवाएः or सवाये. — साठे is the obl. form of साडा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सद्ग्नो, Skr. सर्पकः from स + अर्थ (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पातन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पान्होणो, Skr. पादोनः; from पाद + ऊन्, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms देझा or डेझा, आडा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध half with the next highest ordinal; thus $3\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अठुटू^० (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अठोटू^० = अठ + अठू^० = अठ + चठू^० (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थ० lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of श्व to त occurs in Mg. सत्प्रान् for सप्तोन् = Skr. सप्तोन्म् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अठोटू^० is changed to अहोटू^० (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हृटा or (dropping हृ) the P. उठा or ऊंठा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again $2\frac{1}{2}$ is in Mg. Pr. अद्वाइत्ता (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अद्वायित्ता or अद्वृ + अद्वित्ता = अद्वृ + तद्वित्ता (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तद्वित्ती) = Skr. अर्ढ + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तद्वित्ता is तद्वित्ता (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अद्वायित्ता or contracted अद्वाइत्ता or E. H. अडाई or अद्वित्ता or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. टाइत्ता or ठाई. Similarly $4\frac{1}{2}$ must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अद्वृविंचत् or contracted अद्वृ+चत्, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ठौंचा, W. H. ठौंचा. Similarly $1\frac{1}{2}$ would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अद्वुइए (or *अद्विवहए), and transposing अद्वृ^० and दुइ^० (or *दिए), दिवडे, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देऱ् or उर्, M. दैर् or G. आह् or P. उउडा and उडा or W. H. औडा. — The forms पौँचा, लोँचा, सतोँचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ठौंचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with ऊंचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ऊं of लोँचा is merely the modern pronunciation of औ in the Skr. षष्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the बू of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम nine for नवा. In the W. H. ठामा or ठाम corresponding to P. ठाया or ठाई the म् appears to be merely euphonious.

7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइगुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच्युना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B. दुगुणा 2, etc. (S. Ch. 109), O. तिनि गुण 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूपा or दूपो 2, तौउपा or तिगुपा 3, चौपा or चौगुपा 4, पचौपा or पंजौपा 5, छिलौपा or छिगुपा 6, सतौपा or सतगुपा 7, अठौपा or अठगुपा 8, नौपा or नौगुपा 9, दसौपा or दसगुपा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus हेक्पो 1, बीपो 2, द्रीपो 3, चत्तपो or चौपो 4, पंत्तपो 5, इहूपो 6, सतूपो 7, अठूपो 8, नड्डपो 9, उहूपो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also हेकूटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of हेक-पटो, बिपटो, as in M. which uses पट instead of गुण; thus एकपट 1, दुप्पट 2, तिप्पट 3, चौपट 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणां, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणां, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चतुर्गुणां, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

8. SUBTRACTIVES. —

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक कम् से *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (S. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word घाइट् (S. Ch. 110).

9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाहे *after*; e. g., बाहृनन् के दुर दुर पैसा दिलेस् or बाहृनन् पाहे दुइ प० दिं *he gave the Brāhmans two paisás each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि दि० *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gds.; thus B. दश् दश् or दश् दश् करिया by tens (S. Ch. 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ by twos (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश् टा करिया देउ give ten to each (S. Ch. 245).

10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओँ; thus दोनो ब्रह्मिंस् the two years; तीनो दिन् the three days; चारो ब्राह्मन् the four Brāhmans, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारों of चारि four, साठों of साठि sixty, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362, 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् one to the numeral, as एक् दस् about ten, सौ एक् about one hundred, etc.; to एक् itself आध् half is added, एक् आध् about one. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि about three, दस् इयारह् about ten, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् about ten or any number between ten and fifteen or between ten and twenty; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् about twenty; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि about two, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् about five, 8 with 10, आठ् दस् about eight, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् about twelve, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् about twenty.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gds. As to B. see S. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, लान् or थान्, गाह् to a numeral (S. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes लनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिश् or B. लान् त्रिश् or S. दिहारो लनु *about thirty*. — The B. लान् or थान्, S. लनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थापुः *stake or post*, which becomes in Pr. थापू or लापू (H. C. 2, 7) or लच् (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गोटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गाह् probably the Skr. गच्छ *a progression*.

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1st pers. are, dir. sg. मैं I, obl. sg. मो or मोँ, dir. and obl. pl. हम् we; those of the 2nd pers. are, dir. sg. तैं thou, obl. sg. तो or तोँ, dir. pl. तूं you, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. नी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी we, तोहनी you.

Note: The weak form हम् we occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2nd pers. would be *तोहन् you. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. *हमना and *तोहना, obl. *हमने and *तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense¹). A plur. तुम्हन् and even a sing. तुम्हन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. - sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gds.; thus B. मूर्, O. मू or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मै (Bh.) or मई or मयै (Bs.), M. मो, N. मैँ or मोँ; also H. H. मै. It is quite different in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. हौँ (Br.) or होँ (Kn.) or हूँ (Mw.), P. हउँ, G. हुँ, S. आउँ or आँ (dropping ह). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gds., viz. W. H. and P. मैँ, S. मूँ or माँ, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मैँसूँ from me, P. मै थोँ, S. मूँजाँ or माँजाँ; act. sg., W. H. and P. मैँ, G. मैँ, S. मूँ or माँ. On the other hand, the proper dir. form आँ is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउँ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gds.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मैँ or मे (Br.) or मैँ or महैँ or (shortened) म or मह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.)²), P. मे or मै, S. मूँ or माँ or मुहुँ³), G. म or मा or मै⁴), M. म or मो⁵ or म्याँ⁶), N. म or मैँ or मो⁷ or मे⁸). — There are, then, in Gd. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हौँ, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मैँ, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरौ (Br.), मारौ or म्हारौ (Mw.).

3) मुहुँ only in the gen. मुहुँ जो.

4) मा only in gen. मारौ, and मैँ in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मी and म्याँ only in the act., but acc. म ला, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरौ, मैँ only in the act. मैँ ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. हृत् (H. C. 4, 375) or हृम् (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451) or हृम् (Md. अस्मदो हृम् सुना सार्वं) अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः। हृम् प्राप्तिमि, i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; *hamu bhanami I speak*). The Skr. nom. sg. is अहम्, which becomes in Pr. अहं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अहशं (Vr. 6, 40) or *हशं. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to हउं in Ap. Pr.¹⁾, and this becomes in P. हउं, in Br. हो०, in Kn. हो०, in Mw. है॑; in G. है॑. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms मह् or मह (H. C. 3, 113) or महु (H. C. 4, 379). The form मह् is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that मह् is a curtailment of *महिं (see § 126) and the three forms *महिं, महु and मह् are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for हे and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हेहि, हुहि, हंहि are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms महं (for *महिं, cf. § 126), महुं and महं (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)²⁾. Now the Ap. मह् or *महिं is modified in O. to मुहि

1) Ls. 380 explains the form अहशं as = अहम्, analogous to Pr. तुम् and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. from हृम्; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for हउं. It appears to me more probable that अहशं is the regular strong form of अहं, and equal to *अहकं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अहके (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क्; there is also a Mg. form हक् or हो (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form *हशं and the Ap. हउं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. शं (शक्) changes to शउं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has मह् according to H. C. 4, 377, but महु according to Md. मह उत्तिमिः। मह्। मयि मया मौ व्रायः॥ again it has महु according to H. C. 4, 379, but महुं according to K. I. and Md. उत्तिमिं मरज्जमुहंमहा। व्रायः

or मुहूः, in B. मुहूः, in Bs. महि (for *मुहिः, i. e. अ for अ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुहि), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मौ. The Ap. महः is in Bs. महै or मयै, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मै॒, in M. मौ॒ or म्यौ॒ (for मे॒, i. e. या for ए॒, cf. § 71). The Ap. महुः is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो॑ (for *मत्, § 126, cf. नत् in Nro. 2) or Bs. मत्, and the Ap. महुः in E. H., N. मौ॒ and in S. मुहुः (in assimilation to तुहुः) or मौ॒. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121²), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or मह; and the Pr. मह is in S. मौ॒. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically super-added to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1st pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुम् (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). - Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुइ, in O. तु or तुइ or तुहि, E. H. तहै or तयै (Bs.) or तै॒ (Bh.), N. त, W. H. तै॒ or तै॒ or तौ॒ (Br.) or तू॒ or तू॒ (Mw.), P. तू॒, S. तू॒, M. तू॒, G. तू॒; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तो॒ (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वाँ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तै॒ or तै॒³, W. H. तोहि or तो or तू॒ or तै॒ or ते॒ (Br.) or यो or यै॒ or या or य (Mw.) or तोइ or त्वी or त्वै॒ (Gw., Km.)⁴, P. तै॒ or ते॒, S. तो or तुहुः⁵, G. त or तु or तै॒ or

स्युः⁶; and in the *Nagara Ap.* ममत्यर्थे महुः च स्यात्। महुः धरु सुन्दरु। चकारान् मम च॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महुः according to H. C. 3, 118.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाय मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सप्तन सा करिहि तु केमं॥ *how will she make my kinship, etc.*

3) तै॒ only in the act. तै॒ ले by thee.

4) ते॒ and या only in the gen. तेरौ (Br.), यारौ (Mw.), तू॒ and तै॒ only in the act. in Br. तूने or तै॒ ने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तै॒ तू॒ or यै॒ तू॒, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहुः only in the gen. तुहुः जो.

तूँ or ता¹), M. तूँ or त्वाँ or तु²). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तह or तइ, तउ (modified for *तहि or *तहिं, *तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहु³), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, ह from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्वा). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह⁴) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तेरौ, Mw. यारो thine for Ap. *तहारू, just as Br. मेरौ, Mw. मारो or म्हारो mine = Ap. महारू (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or *तहि appears in P. तै or तै or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइ or *तहिं in Bs. तइ or तयै, Bh., Br., N. तै⁵, Mw. थै⁶, G. तै⁷, N. तै. The Ap. Pr. तउ or *तहु becomes

1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तै⁸ and तूँ only in the act. तै⁹ or तूँ ए, त or तु in the acc. त ने or तु ने..

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तह is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 8, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइ in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Md. तइ छिटामि: । एमि: सह युष्मदस् तइ स्यात् । तइ । त्यथा त्वयि त्वां वा ॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Md. छिउसिउसां तुहतुक्तत्प्रतुलभाः स्युः ॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 8, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 39 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368). Md. युष्मदस् तुह । युष्मद इत्यधिकारः । सुनेत्येव । तुहुं सोऽस्ति ॥ i. e., thou sleepest. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुं तो (Tr. 191. 193). In तह, तइ, तउ a medial त् has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थै⁶ or थ (contr. for *तहिं, *तह); and the forms in ई (= *हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of महं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो¹⁾), and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form *त्वुं is preserved in the E. H. तो^{२)} or त्वाँ, M. त्वाँ (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gd. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहे or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तुँ, Mw. तुँ or तुँ, Br. तु. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically supponadding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly § forms the gen. तुहे^{३)} (तो), abl. तोहाँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. हे and हाँ (or हे, हाँ). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2nd pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. क्षम् has survived in Gd.; Pr., however, has क्षन् or क्षन्य (H. C. 3, 106). But Gd. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base क्षम् as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gd. are: B. आमि or आम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, आम-रा), O. आम्ये, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. आम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्है^{४)} (Mw.), G. आम्ये or हम्ये; and S. and P. आस्ती^{५)}. The various Gd. obl. forms are: B. आमा, O. आम्य or आम्यन् (the latter only in the lat. अम्यकु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हामी, M. आम्हा or आम्ही^{६)} (only act.) or आम् (only in the gen. आम् चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हम्है^{७)} or हमै^{८)} (Br.) or माँ or म्हाँ (Mw.) or हमुँ (Gw.)^{२)}, G. आम् or आम्ये or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असी^{९)}, S. असाँ or असाहे^{१०)} or असाहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हारा, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हदं, which may be spelled also अम्य^{११)} (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father, etc.*

2) हमै^{१२)} only in the dat. and acc. हमै^{१३)} कौ; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our.*

obl. form अस्मे; and अस्ते, अस्ते are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., agt., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अस्ते in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)¹⁾. The Pr. अस्मे or अस्ते becomes अस्मे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and ह्ये in Mw.; and the Pr. अस्ते becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अस्मि or अस्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अस्ते (or अस्मे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Md. अहम् अर्थे अस्मिन्दुम्भाः । अस्मि पलिटु (?) । एवं हुँमम् (?)). It has only survived in the B. आमि I. As to the second Pr. set अस्माणि or अस्माणि, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अस्ते or अस्मि (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अस्मन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अस्तहं, अस्तहूँ, to which must be added a form *अस्तहुँ, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुँ, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अस्ते. The form अस्तहिं or (dropping हि) अस्तहूँ is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)²⁾, but in Gd. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. H. हमहिं and contracted in Br. हमै०, H. H. हमे०, Mw. है०, M. अस्ती० or अस्ती, N. हाँमी०. The form *अस्तहुँ is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौ०, H. H. हमो०, Gw. हमै०. The Ap. form अस्तहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हाँ० or माँ० or (dropping the *anunásika*) in B. आमा०, M. अस्ता०, W. H. P. हमा०, G. अमा०. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अस्ते and अस्तहूँ to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अस्ते to the nom. and अस्तहूँ to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Md. allows both अस्मे and अस्महूँ to the nom., but only अस्महूँ to the acc., thus अस्मद् इति जप्तग्रास्यां॑ अस्मद् अस्मु पेक्षा वा॑ अस्मे च तसा॑ अस्मे भणातु॑ चकाराद् अस्महूँ च॒॥

2) H. C. has only अस्तहूँ and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Md. has both अस्महिं and अस्महूँ and allows them also to the instr., thus अस्महूँ अस्महि अस्मो अस्माहिं अस्मेहिम् इति च मिसा॑ पष्ठ स्यु॑ अस्महूँ भणिदु॑ एवमन्यानि॒॥

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स्त्र् of the Skr. base अस्म to स्त् instead of to मह् or मू¹). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gd. forms; thus P. and S. अस्तोऽि is analogous to M. अस्त्वौऽि and would presuppose a Pr. form *अस्त्विहं or *अस्त्विङ्; and the P. अस्ता, S. अस्ताँ to P. हया, Mw. महौँ, presupposing Pr. *अस्त्वाहं. In the S. अस्ताहैऽि and अस्ताहृऽि the obl. suff. हैऽि, हृऽि (for ईऽि, उऽि) are pleonastically superadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम् (= Skr. यूम्) for अस्म or अस्म. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gd. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणि (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हिहं or तुम्हिङ् (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) *तुम्हहुँ, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अमि). In Gd. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्हे (a), E. H. (a) तूँ (Bh., for तूहैऽि) or तोहूँ or तोहैऽि or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) ते or (c) तैऽि (Mw., for *तहे or *तहैऽि, with अ for अ as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हीऽि (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमी (with इ for अ or अ, as in Br. तिहारौ *yours*), S. (c) तव्हीऽि or तवीऽि or तहीऽि or तइऽि or (c) अव्हीऽि or अवीऽि or अहीऽि or अहृऽि or अहृँऽि, P. (c) तुमीऽि (for Pr. *तुस्तिङ्). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-ए), O. (a) तुम्ह or (b) तुम्हन् (only in the dat. तुम्हनु), E. H. (a) तोहूँ or तोहैऽि (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (c) तुम्हैऽि or (c) तुम्हैऽि

1) The loc. suff. स्त्रि॒न् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सबूस्त्रि॒न् or सबूमि॒न् or सेन्द्रि॒हि॒ for *सबूमिहं in all), but only मि॒ in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवमि॒ in god); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form 'सि॒ msi or सि॒ si even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि॒ or देवसि॒). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Pra. and Gds. The Páli admits both स्त्रि॒न् and मि॒ in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तमुँ (G.w.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) तर्है (Mw., for *तहाँ, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारो) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही॒ (only in the act.) or (a) तम् (only in the gen. तम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमी, S. (d) तव्है॑ or तव्है॒ or तहै॑ or तर्है॑ or (d) चव्है॑ or चव्है॒ or चहै॑ or चर्है॑, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. *तुस्सहं) or (d) तुहा or युशा or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी॒ (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the त of the Pr. तुम्हइ॑ is changed to चव् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि to thee for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्है॑; next either व् or व् is dropped, making तव्है॒ or तहै॑; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तहै॒; the other S.-set चव्है॑, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base अह् (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) There remain a few peculiar obl. forms: viz., of the first pers.^१ pron., M. मत् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मत्, W. H. मुत्, H. H. मुक् or मुके, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुक् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तत्, H. H. तुक् or तुके, P. तुप्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मत्क (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मत्कु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुत्क (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुत्कु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुप् (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मत्क and तुत्क are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अह् and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्य and तुम्हः, and declined as nouns. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मत्क or अह् (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मत्कमि or अहमि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मत्काण्य or अहाण्य (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मत्कत् or अहत् (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gd. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मत्क, तुत्क become H. H. मुक्, तुक्, M. मत्, तुत् (with त् for क्, § 145, note). And Gd. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुके, तुके, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोड़ा horse). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माके॑ n., and तुका, तुकी, तुके॑. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो^० or हमरा सो^०, just as M. मार्क्या हून्, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. मार्क्याँहून्. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मर and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदौय *mine* and त्वदौय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मदू, त्वदू); thus महइय = मस्तु = मत्तु or तुहइय = तुत्पु or तुत्तु (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुहे) = तुकु. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मदृश *like me*, त्वादृश *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मद्विह = मत्तु, तुद्विह = तुकु. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. इदृश, and S. has इको = इजहो = ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृश, and the र् in the Ap. Pr. form तुर्ध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. र् of दृश¹). Ls. connects मर and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. *मस्य and *त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to त्वू in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोर आप् or rarely मोरा आप् *my father*, but मोरे आप के of *my father*; हमारू माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई के of *our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in ए; but in

1) Or again, मर might be = मह-ज, and तुक = तुह-ज and तुध = तुह-र; ज and र् being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *kharī bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as मे मे or मोरे मे in me, हम मे or हमरे मे in us, etc.

432 a.

1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं " I, हम् " we.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. मैं "	हम्	हमलोग्
a., d. मो के or मोँ के	हम् के	हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के
i., abl. मो से or मोँ से	हम् से	हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से
gen. मोर् or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे हमार् or हमरा, °री, °रे	हमलीग् कै, के or हमलोगन् कै, के	
loc. मो मे or मोँ मे or मोरे मे हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे	or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मैं ही^१ or मैं हूँ even I.

Singular. Plural.

nom. मैं ही ^१	मैं हूँ	हम ही ^१	हम हूँ
a., d. मोही के	मोहूँ के	हम ही ^१ के	हम हूँ के
i., abl. मोही से	मोहूँ से	हम ही ^१ से	हम हूँ से
gen. मोहै or मोरे ही मोरौ or मोरे हूँ हमरै or हमरे ही हमरौ or हमरे हूँ			
loc. मोही मे or मोरे मे मोहूँ मे or मोरौ मे हम ही ^१ मे or हमरै मे हम हूँ मे or हमरौ मे or मोरे ही मे or मोरे हूँ मे or हमरे ही मे or हमरे हूँ मे			

432 b.

2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तैं " thou, तूँ you.

Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom. तैं "	तूँ	तूँलोग्
a., d. तो के or तोँ के	तोहूँ के	तूँलोग् के or तूँलोगन् के
i., abl. तो से or तोँ से	तोहूँ से	तूँलोग् से or तूँलोगन् से
gen. तोर् or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे तोहार् or तोहरा, °री, °रे	तूँलोग् कै, के or तूँलोगन् कै, के	
loc. तो मे or तोँ मे or तोरे मे तोहूँ मे or तोहरे मे	तूँलोग् मे	or तूँलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तैं ही^१ or तैं हूँ even thou.

Singular. Plural.

nom. तैं ही ^१	तैं हूँ	तैं ही ^१ or तुँहै ^२	तैं हूँ or तुँहूँ
a., d. तोही के	तोहूँ के	तुँहर्द ^३ के	तोहड़ के
i., abl. तोही से	तोहूँ से	तुँहर्द ^३ से	तोहड़ से
gen. तोहै or तोरे ही तोरौ or तोरे हूँ तोहरै or तोहरे ही तोहरी or तोहरे हूँ			
loc. तोही मे or तोरे मे तोहूँ मे or तोरौ मे तुँहर्द ^३ मे or तोहरै मे तोहड़ मे or तोहरी मे or तोहरे हूँ मे			

Note: हौं and हूँ may or may not be spelled होँ, हूँ; also हम and तुँह may be spelled हम्म and तुँह्म before हौं and हूँ (see § 67); e. g., हम्म हौंके to us, तुँह्म हूँके to you. — The gen. pl. may also be तोहारै, हमारै, etc.

2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term „correlative pronoun“ I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. यह (also यह or emphatic ऐहै or इहै or इहइ), obl. sg. ए or ऐह (or emph. ऐही), pl. ऐन्ह (or emph. ऐन्हही); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. उह (also उह or emph. ओहै or उहै or उहइ), obl. sg. ओ or ओह (or emph. ओही), pl. ओन्ह (or emph. ओन्हही); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहइ), obl. sg. ते or तेह (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. जे (or emph. जेहै or जिहइ), obl. sg. जे or जेह (or emph. जेही), pl. जेन्ह (or emph. जेन्हही); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. के (or emph. केहै or किहइ), obl. sg. के or केह (or emph. केही), pl. केन्ह (or emph. केन्हही); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. को or केह, obl. sg. or pl. को or केह. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. का, obl. का or काहे, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a neuter. The obl. काहे is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus का करैलह what do you do, का धरू मे in what house, काहे से खद्दे with what wilt thou eat it? In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form से he, that for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of ते, but has no emph. forms to express which तेहै, तिहइ are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. अन् (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in इ (§ 384) and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तबन् or तउन् or तौन् he, तबन् or तउन् or तौन् which, कबन् or कउन् or कौन् who, कौनो any one; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, तउने or तौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, तउनी or तौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms *तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities.* In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a*, *a* denote forms of the same group, *a*, *a* or *a*, *a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

- 1) *The near dem. pron.; . dir. sg., B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (a) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) इ or ऐह or इह or यह or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह or यु or इहु or Mw. (a) यो or ओ (masc.) and या or या (fem.); P. (a) इह or एह or अह or (f) इत्; S. (a) हो or हे (com. gen.) or (a) हीउ or हिउ (masc.) and होअ or हिअ (fem.) or (a) इहो or ईहो or इओ or ईओ (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इया or ईया (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) या or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), हो (fem.), हे" (neut.); N. (a) यो. Obl. sg., B. (a) ए or (a) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (a) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐह or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इया or ई" or (y) ईयी or अयी or H. H. (b) इस् or (g) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or अह or (b) ईस् अ एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ईन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or ईम् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) या or ए; M. (a) या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or यास्, हीस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (a) ये or ए. Dir. plur., B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐह or यह or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or ईन्; W. H. (a) यह or (a) ये or ये or ई; P. (a) ई or एह or अह; S. (a) हो or हे or (a) ईह or (e) इके; G. (a) या or एको; M. (a) हे (masc.), या*

(fem.), ही^० (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन्ह or Bs. अन्ह or द्वन्ह or यन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हौ^० (or इन्हे^० dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or वाँ or (c) इयाँ or वयाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) अहाँ or (c) इनी^० or इन्ही^० or एन्ही^० or एनो^० (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इनहनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हे^०; G. (a) एनो or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन्ह or इन् or Km. (a) यूं or (c) इनूं or इनो.

2) *The far dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) जो or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or औह or वह or उह; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह or चुह or बुहि or उहि or (a) जो or Mw. (a) ऊ or वू (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह or औह; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or जो (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) शोलो or पेलो (masc.), आजो or पेली (fem.), शोलुँ or पेलुँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) जो or (a) उहा or (c) उहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जो or औह or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (β) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उण or वी^० or (γ) उपी^० or वपी^०; P. (a) उह or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or जोन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिच or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) शोला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (a) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or औह or वह or उह or Bs. (a) जो or उन्ह; W. H. (a) वह or (a) वे or वै; P. (a) उह or औह; S. (a) हू or हो or (a) हूए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) शोला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) औन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हौ^० or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हौ^० (or उन्हे^० or विन्हे^० dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वाँ or व्याँ or (c) उपाँ or वपाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनी^० or उन्ही^० act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) शोलाजो or पेलाजो; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह or Km. (a) ऊ or (c) उनू or उनो.

3) *The general dem. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (a) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेहुँ; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) ते or से or तेहु or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) ज्ञे; S. (a) जो (masc.) and वा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते^० (neut.);

N. (a) यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or (a) याहा or याहि or याहिं; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेह or Bs. (a) या ये यहि or (c) यवन् or (y) यउने or यैने; (W. H.) Br. (a) या or याहि or यिहि or यिहिं or (b) यासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) यिस् or (β) यिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) यिए or यिएी or यएी; P. (a) यिहि or (b) यिस् or (c) यिन् (act. only) or (f) यित्; S. (a) याँहि (or यहि abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) या (masc.) and यि (fem.); N. (a) या or यो or (b) यस् or (c) युन् or Km. (a) यइ or यै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेह or यिह or (c) यवन् or यउन् or यैन्; W. H. (a) यो; P. (a) से; S. (a) ये or येहो; M. (a) ये (masc.), या (fem.), यो (neut.); N. (c) युन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) येन् or (c) यैन् or (y) यैने or Bs. (a) यवन् or यवन् or येन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) यिन् or यिनि or (c) यिन्हों (or यिहैं dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or याँ or (c) यिएँ; P. (c) यिनौं or यिन्हौं (or यिन्हीं or यिनीं act. only); S. (a) यिनि or यनि or (c) यिननि or यिनिनि or यिन्हनि or यिन्हनिनि; G. (a) येहों or (c) येम्; M. (a) याँ; N. (a) यिन्ह or यिन्हव् or Km. (a) यैं or (c) यन् or यवन्.

4) *The relat. pron.; dir. sing.*, B. (a) ये or (a) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येडु or येडँ or यौं; E. H. (a) ये or येह or यिह or (c) यवन् or यउन् or यैन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) यो or यो or (c) योन् or Mw. (a) यो; P. (a) यो; S. यो (masc.) and या (fem.); G. (a) ये; M. (a) यो (masc.), यो (fem.), यो (neut.); N. (a) यो or (c) युन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहि or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ये or येह or (c) योन् or (y) यैने or Bs. (a) या or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) या or याहि or येहि or H. H. (b) यिस् or (β) यिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) यिए or यो (or या or यापी); P. (a) यिहि or (b) यिस् or (c) यिन् (act. only) or (f) यित्; S. (a) याँहि; G. (a) ये or (c) येन्; M. (a) यो or या or ये (masc.), यि (fem.); N. (a) या or यो or (b) यस् or (c) युन् or Gw. (a) यइ or यै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ये or येह or यिह or (c) यवन् or यउन् or यैन् or Bs. (a) येन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) यो or यो or (c) योन् or Mw. (a) यो; P. (a) यो; S. (a) ये; G. (a) ये or येहो; M. (a) ये (masc.), या (fem.), यो (neut.); N. (c) युन् or (a) यिन्ह. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) येन्ह or Bs. (a) ययन्ह or य्यन् or येन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) यिन् or यिनि

or, (c) जिन्हौं (or जिन्हेँ dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) याँ or याँ or (c) जिएाँ or जएाँ; P. (c) जिनाँ or जिन्हाँ (or जिनीँ or जिन्हीँ abt. only); S. (a) जिनि or जनि or (c) जिनहनि or जिन्हिनि or जिननि or जिनिनि; G. (a) जेओ; M. (a) इयतँ; N. (a) जिन्ह or जुन्ह or Km. (a) ज्हूं or (c) ज्हूं or जन्ह or जन्हन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.; dir. sing., B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केडु or केडँ or कौँ (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कपा (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केहु or किहु or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहु (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौनु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कपा (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) काँइँ or कँइँ (all neut.); P. (a) किहडा or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) की or किशा (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केओ or (d) केहोरो or केहोरो or (e) कुजाडो (all com. gen.) or (a) छा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) प्रो (masc.), प्री (fem.), प्रुँ (neut.) or कओ (masc.), कर्द (fem.), करुँ (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. Obl. sing., B. (a) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (a) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केहु (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्यहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कपा or कौँ or कीँ or कुपी or कपी or H. H. (b) किस् or (β) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काहु (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केहेरो or कैहिँ or (e) कुजाडे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोपा or कोपया or कोपो (or कापी² instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कप्रा or कश्या (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) जन् or कै. Dir. plur., B. and O. deest; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहेँ or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केहा or केरे or (e) कुजाडा (com. gen.); G. (a) कओ (masc.), कर्द (fem.), कओँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. Obl. plur., B. and O. deest; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह or Bs. (a) क्यन्ह or क्यन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हौं (or किन्हैँ dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कपाँ or कपाँ; P. (c) किनाँ or*

किन्हीं (or किनीं or किन्हीं act. only); B. (a) केहनि or (d) केहूनि; (b) किनि or किनि or (c) किन्हुनि or किन्हनि or किनिनि; B. (a) कोपाँ (com. gen.) or (b) कसाँ or कसाँ (neut.); N. (a) कुप्तु वा Gw. (a) कूँ or कानु or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.; dir. sing.,* B. (a) केह; O. (a) केहि or (b) कीपासि or कउपासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहु or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केझ or कोञ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोञ or (c) कौनी; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोपाई or कोपही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.,* B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like dir.; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू वा (b) किसु or किसी or (c) कौनी वा Mw. (a) को० or (c) कुपाई or कपाई; P. (b) किसे or किसी; S. (a) कौहै० or कौही०; G. (a) कोई; M. (c) कोपाई or कोपहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) करै०. *Dir. plur.,* B. and O. *deest;* E. H., W. H., P. like sing.; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कैई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोपाई. *Obl. plur.,* B. and O. *deest;* E. H. and "W. H. like sing.; P. (b) किसे० or किसी० or (c) किन्हाँ०; S. (c) किसे० or कने० or कनी० or कन्ही०; M. (c) कोपहाँ०.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are six principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters इ० (occasionally elided), स०, त० (or प०), ल० (or र०), र० (or त०), त० respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. इवत्), तमस्त्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीवत्) so large or so much, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, तेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एव, तेव, तेव, केव (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, तिव, किव or इम, तिम, तिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled इैव or इ॒व, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or इव or इम, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, ते, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the phon. suff. ि॑,

as quant. pron., एवतु, तवतु, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. तो or ता; viz. S. एतो, ततो, etc., P. एता, तता, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम he or this (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम् what (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. ऐव, तेव �thus, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एवक्तु so, thus (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एव्वहि now (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह, तिह, किह (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. हे, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms जे (ते?), से are mentioned by Md. as noun. sg. (जे से एग सुना यन्नदेतदां। एषां सुना सह जे से एस इत्य् एते स्युः। ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वर्णं वा। एवं से एस॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, जे, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह, तेह, जेह, केह are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. नह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐन्ह, तेन्ह, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हि, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for *एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for *इहि), त्यहि (for *तिहि), etc.; Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. नह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or इनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कविन् or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह् occur; e. g., इह्, तिह्, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for *इमिनि), तिनि or तनि (with अ for इ, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन् or हिन्, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्होँ, etc., P. इनाँ or हन्हाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form त् of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. ओह् is a contraction of *अवह्, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. *एवहु or *एवहो. The other E. H. obl. form ओ has dropped the final ह्. The dir. sing. ओ or ऊ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *एव or *एवु. In G. the latter contracts to आ *that* (abl. आ दो *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु (Kl. 137, d) for *ओहु = *एवहु; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि for *ओहि = Ap. *एवहि or *एवहे. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु or कुहु *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form *कवहु for Ap. *केवहु or *केवहो.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवतु, तेवतु, जेवतु, केवतु (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes त to या (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवया (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कत्रन or कउन् or कोन्, in W. H. कौन् or कौन्, P. कोण्, G. and M. कोण्, Mw. कुपा or कूपा, N. कुन्. Similarly Ap. जेवतु becomes in G. जेवन्, in E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जोन्, W. H. जौन्, N. तुन्; and Ap. तेवतु becomes in E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन्, N. तुन्. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कोन् or कोन, representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणाहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff हे. The Ap. एवतु gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन्, P. ओन् or ऊन्, Mw. ऊण् occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कोने. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणाँ or वणाँ; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or काण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणाँ or कणाँ. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणाहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनां or उन्हाँ, Br. उन्हाँ (= Ap. gen. *कवणाहं = एवउत्तुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हेँ (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिं which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हि (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवत्, etc., S. has the shorter forms एडो, तडो, ज़डो, फेडो. Just as the Ap. एवत् becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एडो, तेडो, ज़डो by changing ड् to ए् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, यिनि (read जिनि)¹⁾. This set exists also in P. इन् or इन्, Mw. इणा, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or अणी, S. इन्हिं (also spelled इन्हिन्न or इह्ही) or इन्हे (for *इनह), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-र् or इनहे-र्, also spelled इन्ह-र्, इन्हे-र्, retaining the obl. suff. ह् or ह, see § 364, 3)²⁾. There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणाँ or अणाँ, Km. इनू or इसो, P. इना or एन्हा or इन्हाँ or इन्हाँ, Br. इन्हाँ, S. इन्हे or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनहिं, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. उन्हे, O. H. इनहिं, and P. an act. एन्ही³⁾ or इन्हो⁴⁾. The obl. forms in -हाँ, -हो, -हे contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हि respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of *नहं, *नहुं, *नहिं). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एडो, तेडो, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवत्, but the near dem. on the shorter एड.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for *इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एते or एतहैं or एतहूँ *hither*, तेते or तेतहैं or तेतहूँ *thither*, केते or केतहैं or केतहूँ *whither*¹). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of त् to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whither-soever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gd. simple pron.; viz. O. येत्त, केत, G. जेक्त, तेक (also spelled जेत, तेत or तेशो, तेशो) or ज्ञा, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कश्चो m. (कर्द् f., कर्त् n.), probably for *कव्वो, shortened from the strong form केव्वो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केन्नो m. (कर्द् f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form *कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्वो (for *तिक्वो) and ज्ञो, Mw. ज्यो or ज्ञो, Br. ज्ञो, P. ज्ञो; M. also has masc. ज्ञो, but makes a regular fem. ज्ञी and neut. ज्ञै, and obl. sg. ज्ञा or ज्ञै, obl. pl. ज्ञाँ, dir. pl. ज्ञै, ज्ञा, ज्ञै; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms *जश्चो, *जर्द्, *जयं. To the M. obl. pl. ज्ञाँ corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. ज्ञाँ, Gw. ज्ञै. The S. has m. ज्ञो, but a rather anomalous f. ज्ञा, pl. ज्ञै c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, तो, तै, pl. त, त्या, तीै; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्याँ, Mw. त्याँ, Gw. त्यै. The G. neut. कउ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as prohom. adv. कउ *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Md. in the following two sútras: यन्नदोरु अमा जउ तउ। अमा सह यन्नदोरु जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ मग्गसि तउ देमि॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jail tau* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उसिङ्गम्याँ जउ तउ च। यन्नदोरु इत्यैव। चकारात् पक्षे प्राकृतवत्॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jau tau* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms²). I believe, N. is the only Gd., which

1) The forms in हैं, हूँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यन्नदो मा जउ पतितः। अमा सह यन्नदोर्जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ म० तउ द०; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जउ, तउ) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sútra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits जो, तो as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. जो आट or जो साँग् from which, तो आट or तो साँग् from him. — In G., एम्, केम् thus, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. केम् or केमं how, etc.¹). B. adds the p̄eon. suff. अन् (§§ 209, 214); thus एमन् or एमनि or एमने, तेमन् or तेमनि or तेमने thus, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, etc. are, also derived the G. far dem. pron. ओलो or पेलो he, that and the pronom. adv. अइले or ऐल्हे now, तइले or तेल्हे there, etc. by the change of इ to ई. Thus Ap. एवडो becomes *अवडो, *अवलो or contr. ओलो or पेलो (for बलो with an anomalous hardening of व् to वृ). The N. अइल or ऐल्हे (for *एल्हे) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. हे and is = Ap. Pr. एवरहे (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. ताला there, जाला where, काला where (II. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. केरु who may be identified with the short quant. pron. केडु by the change of इ to ई; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. *केरिहु, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. केरिसो, Skr. कीदृपा. The Ap. strong form *केरिहो becomes in S. the simple pron. केरहे what (usually spelled केररो with transposed र). Substituting in केरिहो the long Ap. form केरङ् for केर०, and the original ई for ई, we obtain केरदिहो (cf. Pr. कौदिसो Ls. 116); and similarly एवदिहो or एदिहो for the ordinary Pr. एसिसो or *एदिसो, Skr. इदृपा. Here the palatal vowel ई changes ई to ई, and thus in S. the Ap. *एदिहो and *एवदिहो become the simple pron. ईको ईको (for *इजिहो, just as S. केरहे for केरिहो) and उको that respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

तः. In the original MS., which was in the Oriya characters ତ (or ତି) would be hardly distinguishable from ଈ.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 कहै नदू सो राजन वर प्रेमं। मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं॥ i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 तरो ताप उधरो केम नष्य। i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुन्तातो *what* stands for the Ap. *केवदिहस्तउ (with the pleon. suff. अउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुन्ता *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एज्जाहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतदृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. अजिहा or अजेहा of *this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. इट्टाः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, नेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)¹⁾, and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एहु or इहु, Br. इहु or यहु or यह, E. II. इह or इ (for *इअ dropping ह) or ऐह. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form *एह mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह; and the S. इओ (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इओ) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. ओ drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., ही f., हे n. (for Ap. *इहउ, *इहिआ, इहयं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. र्या, pl. र्याँ, and, dir. pl. हे m., र्या f., ही n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding हु) केओ *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कओ (fem. कई, n. कउ). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

1) H. C limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Md. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदृश् चैह सुपा। मुपा सह तदो (दशा ते गोश्च?) एहः स्यात्। एह तपो ब्राला वर्णं वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं पूर्वं॥ j. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned.^{*} The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. श्वस्; as in the succeeding rule एहो एहु च स्वम्-याँ, “ब्रम्-याँ सह तदरसोरु एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेहु देक्षत वा। एह ग्रोभते। एतं पर्येति एव एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं च॥” i. e., in the nom. and acc sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eha* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Md. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. जा is added, thus केहजा *which*, तेहजा *whichsoever* (fem. °जे). Connected with the Ap. Pr. कहो' is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कहा or P. किना *what*, with इ shortened to इ and अ. They are really obl. forms. The P. किना stands for *किहा and is contracted in H. H. to व्या. S. transposes हृ (i. e., किना khid, § 132, note) and changes कि khi to हृ chh by the influence of the palatal उ, thus making व्या (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes *किहा, *किहो, *किहुं into प्रो, प्री, प्रुं (for छो, छी, छुं, see § 11, for *किनो, *किन्ह, *किन्त). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gd. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. मद्गः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. *मेहो or *सेहु or *सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for इद्गः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. जे or जो. It is commonly (B. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gd. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gd. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. द्या and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, ते, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, तेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, तेह, केह, by dropping the final हृ; for a form तेह, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहै, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. इद्गः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कउसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gd. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or हृ or अ; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for *ऐसो or *इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. अँसो, तसा, etc. But the weak forms जसु or जस्, तमु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 यांन यांन नर उडे। चंद तस उपम पाठ्य॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gd., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐसू or एसू or इसू, जिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in एँ also occur; thus H. H. has इमे, तिसे (as dat. acc. to *hem* or *him*) besides इसू, तिसू, etc., (just as E. H. कौन् and कौनें, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. अइमहि or अइमहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-रु of *what*, dat. loc. किसे *to or in what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-रु of *god*, देवे *to or in god of देव*). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसयाह, Skr. कीदृप्रास्य or कीदृप्रकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह, etc., § 365, 4) of *whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवा of देव *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिसू, जिसू, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pi. gen. तस्मा, जस्ता, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap Pr to एवित् (II. C. 4, 341), तेवित्, जेवित्, केवित् (cf. II. C. 4 383) or, in the strong form, to एविरो, तेविरो, etc. (H. C. 4, 345, cf. 2, 157, for *एविश्चित्, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्वो तित्वै, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. इते, तेते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति०, तेति०, etc., G. एट०, तेट०, etc., W. H. and P. इत०, तित०, etc., E. H. ऐत०, तेत०, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452, 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, जित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा of *this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इतै here, तित् or तितै there, etc., P. इत्ये, तित्ये, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्यि or इत्ये, तिति or तिते or तित्यि or तित्ये, etc. The forms इत्यि, उत्ये, etc. are contracted from ज्ञहि or उत्थहे, तिज्ञहि or तित्वहि, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एवहे *here*, तेज्जहे *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)¹⁾. By the side of the shorter forms एविश, केविश, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवत्रिश, केवत्रिश, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एविश originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इत्तौ, so Pr. *एवत्रिशो (shortened *अवत्रिशो, *ओविशो) becomes the far quant. W. H. उत्तौ *that much*, H. H. उत्ता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति०, G. आट०, W. H. and P. उत०, E. H. ओत०, B. अत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452, 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्ये, S. उति or उते or उत्ता or उत्ये; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, तस्म or तास, ज्ञाम or तासु (also तम्भु H. C. 4, 419), ज्ञामु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or ज्ञामु and ज्ञास or ज्ञासु²⁾, in Br. only तासु and ज्ञामु (Kl. 122, a), and P. has काम् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*. Ld 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 15), एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एत्ताहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.³⁾. Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्य *here*, तेत्यु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. of एत्तहु, तेत्तहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see §. 365, 6), and the Ap. Pr. forms ज्ञहु *where*, तस्तु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in त (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr., viz. एत्य (for एत्तह = एत्तहु) or एत्ताहे or एत्तो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83 V. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and ज्ञय, तत्य, कत्य, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्य and एत्य = *एत्तहं abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास राज समोऽपि एहो नष्ट किधा उचारं ॥ i. e., *near that king I remain to practise the art of the actor*.

3) Md. says दीर्घोऽस्मे वा उसादेष्वे । स्ववज्जिते उसादेष्वे एषां (i. e. कियद्वदां) दीर्घोऽवा र्यात् । काहो । काह । कासु । काई । काङु । एव यत्तदो ॥ स्मे । कस्त । जस्त ॥

are preserved in Gd.; thus ताहि, जाहि, काहि (for *ताहे, etc.) and त्वाहु, जाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.), in Br. (Kl. 122 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H and Br., and काहू in P.; in O H. also ताह or ता¹⁾ The Ap Pr loc. sg. is तहि, जहि, कहिं (H C 4, 357), apparently these have become general obl. forms in S तहिं, जहिं, कहिं, and with आ in O ताहिं, जाहिं, काहिं, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काहिं or कहु (dropping हु) and also in the Ap Pr काइ (H. C. 4, 367) and कइ (H. C. 4, 426)

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles त or इ (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H केहू any one = केहु + त kehu + u and कौनो = कौन + त kauna + u, M कोणी = कोण + इ kon + i, II H कोई = को + इ ko + i

439. Declension Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions 1) those of the short form (इ, उ, ते, जे, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff करू or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus करू is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करो (§ 384) and obl. masc करे (§ 386), fem करो, both in the

i. e., *ka, ya, ta* may become *ka, ya, ta* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa* — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff., for in H C 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H C 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C 4, 436 (एत्वहे) and H C 2, 154 (एत्वाहे) it is a loc. suff., in H C 3, 82 (एत्वाह) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह, see H C 2, 161 (तहि, तह), and ह or त्य is an abl. suff. in H C 3, 82 (एत्य = *एक्त्वह), but a loc. suff. in H C 2, 161 (तत्य = *तेत्वह)

1) Thus Chand Pr R^१, 25, 36 न न हंस धीरू न न सुष्ठ ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm again* 25, 16 ता यह सु पत्र अनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues* — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron., thus M has काहू (for *काहि = *काइ), Bs has काहू and Bh. का (for काहू) *that.*

sing. and plur. (§ 386), but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form करू c. g., obl. करे मि. or करी फ.; just like के and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not करू, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह (viz. ऐहू, शोहू, तेहू, जेहू, केहू) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, शोही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के करू धरू or केहू के धरू or rarely के करा धरू *whose house* or *houses*; के करू मेहरू or केहू के मॉ or rarely के करी मॉ *whose wife* or *wives*; obl. sg. क करे धरू न or केहू के धरू मे or rarely के करू धरू मे *in whose house*; के करी मेहरू से or केहू के मेहरू से or rarely के करू or के करे मॉ से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करू धरनू मे or केहू के धरनू मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरनू मे or केहू के नॉ से or rarely के करे मॉ मे *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus, *whom* is के के or केहू के or कवनू के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवनू.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khari bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. शो करे मे *in lum*, pl. शोन्हू करे मे *in them*, etc.

441.

1. Short form.

a) Simple form: एं *he, this.*

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	एं	एं	ईलोगू - .
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐहू के	ऐन्हू के	ऐन्हू लोगनू के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐहू से	ऐन्हू से	ऐन्हू लोगनू से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐहू कै, के	ऐन्हू कै, के	ऐन्हू लोगनू कै, के
	• or ए करू, करी, करे	or ऐन्हू करू, करी, करे	
loc.	ए मे or ऐहू मे	ऐन्हू मे	ऐन्हू लोगनू मे
	or ए करे मे	or ऐन्हू करे मे	

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इहौ even he, even this.

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहर्दि	इहौ or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहूं के
instr., abl.	एहो से	एहूं से
gen.	एही के or एहो करूं or ए करै or ए करो हो	एहूं के or एहूं करूं or ए करों or ए करो हूं
loc.	एहो मे or ए करौं मे or ए करो हो मे	एहूं म or ए करों मे or ए करो हूं मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहर्दि	ऐन्ह हैं
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह हों के	ऐन्ह हूं के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह हों से	ऐन्ह हूं से
gen.	ऐन्ह हों के or ऐन्ह हों करूं or ऐन्ह करै or ऐन्ह करो हो	ऐन्ह हूं के or ऐन्ह हूं करूं or ऐन्ह करो or ऐन्ह करो हूं
loc.	ऐन्ह हों मे or ऐन्ह करौं मे or ऐन्ह करो हो मे	ऐन्ह हूं मे or ऐन्ह करो मे or ऐन्ह करो हूं मे

Note: Like ये are declined उ that, ते he, जो which, के who; only substituting उ, यो, त, यो and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ये, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ए or यो may, optionally, be spelled with इ or ऊ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के to these, and योन्ह के or उन्ह के to those, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तवन् or तउन् or तौन् he, this.

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तवा	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौन कै, के	तौनी कै, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोगन् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोगन् के

	Com. gen.	Fem.
instr., abl.	तौनेलोग् से or तौनेलोगन् से तौनीलोग् से or तौनीलोगन् से	
gen.	तौनेलोग् के, कं or तौनेलोगन् के, कं तौनीलोग् के, कं or तौनीलोगन् के, कं	
loc.	तौनेलोग् मे or तौनेलोगन् मे तौनीलोग् मे or तौनीलोगन् मे	

Note: Like तबन् are declined जबन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with अव or अउ or अ॒ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के to this.

442a. Short form: के or कह. Long form: कौनो *any one*.

	Sing. and simple plur.	Compound plural.
nom. क	केहूँ कौनो केलोग् केहूँ लोग् कौनो लोग्	
a., d. के के	केहूँ के कौनो के के लोग् के केहूँलोग् के कौनोलोग् के	
i., abl. के से	केहूँ से कौनो से or के लोगन् के केहूँलोगन् के कौनोलोगन् के	
gen. के कै, के कैहूँ कै, के कौनो कै, के etc. etc. etc.		
loc. के मे केहूँ मे कौनो मे		‘

Note: Like केहूँ is declined जेकेहूँ *whosoever*.

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आप्. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आप् के to *himself* and to *themselves*.

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आप्; O. has आपे or आपणा, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपणा; while in S. it is पापा; H. H. has in the dir. form आप्, but in the obl. आप् or आपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपणा and H. H. obl. आपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self*. In Pr. it becomes आपा or आज्ञा (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or आप्यो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. आप्यु (or st. f. आप्यउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gd. it is आप्; in O. H. and Br., also, आप्. The Pr. form आज्ञा, I believe, has left no trace in Gd. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अप्पापा (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाएँ (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पापा with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अप्पापा, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. ते[॒] and pl. तूँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. रावर् or रातर् c. g., in the st. f. स्तरा or सैरा m., रतरी or सैरी f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप्‌लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of रातर् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gds., thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपणा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of रातर् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल० (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राजउल० or राउल० (Vr. 4, 1. H C. 1, 267), see § 78.

5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives*. I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine*, *thine*, *oun*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all*, *whosoever*, *some*.

a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोर् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमार् c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोर् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहार् c. g. *young*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pronc., viz., wk. f. एकर् or शोकर् c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एकर्त् or शोकर्त् m., °री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर् or शोन्हकर् c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हकर्त् or शोन्हकर्त् m., °री f.

Note. The following bye-forms also occur. हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. °री. — The adj. निज् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gds., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर्, आमार्; O. मोर् or मोहोर्, अमर्; W. H. मेरो, हमारो (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, मारो or म्हारो (Mw.); G. मारो, आमारो; N. मरो, हाम्रो; but P. मरा, असाड़ or साड़; M. माका, आमू-चा; S. मू-जो or मुहुँ-जो, अगा-जो. Of the second pers., B. तोर्, तोमार्; O. तोर्, तुम्भर्; W. H. तरो, तुम्हारो or तिहारो (Br.) and थारो (or आड़ा), थारो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिमो; but P. तेरा, तुसाड़ or तुहाड़ा; M. तुका or तुमू-चा, S. तो-जो or तुहुँ-जो, तव्हाँ-जो or अव्हाँ-जो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार्, अमर् and तोमार्, तुम्भर् as sing *mine, thine*, and form new plur., B. आमा-देर् and even मो-देर् *our*, तोमा-देर्, ता-देर् *your*, O. अममानङ्कर्, तुम्भमानङ्कर्. Similarly also N. हामीहेरु-को, तिमीहेरु-को or तिमीहेरु-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर् or आमाझ-दर् or आमार्-दिगेर् and similarly तोमादिगेर्, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपना, Br. अपनो or आपना, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-जो, O. आपणा, but also आपणा-र् (Sn. 18), S. पा-जो or पाहुँ-जो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-जो *mine*, M. आमू-चा *our*, P. तुसा-जा *your*, S. पाँ-जो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपण-र् *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोर्[॒] *mine*, हमार्[॒] *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केर् and कर्, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अस्त्वकरो *dur*, तुम्हकरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मर्दन्नः *mine* = Skr. मदेय (II. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर् always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महार्त (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (II. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for *महकर्त or *महकरा, मह् being the gen. of हृत *I*, cf. II. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मरा (Md. त्वदेये तरः मदीये मर्); so also in Br. मरो or in Mw. मारो or म्हारो. The E. H. तोर् is founded on a form *महूकरो (from gen. महू, II. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोर् *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुम्हार (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for *तुम्हकर्त (from gen. तुम्ह, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोर्. The Br. तेरो and Mw. आरो presuppose an original form *तहकरा (from gen. तह, see § 430. 2) or have been assimilated to मरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अस्त्वारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= *अस्त्वकरा, from gen. or base अस्त् H. C. 3, 113 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. आमारा, W. H. हमारो; or, by elision of ह्, B. आमारा, G. अमारो; r, by elision of अ, Mw. घ्वारो; or, by shortening आ, O. अम्मर्, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्हकरा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा L. H. तोहरा, etc. — The P. form असा-जा (or सा-जा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. घ्वरो), तुसा-जा or तुहा-जा are made with the old gen. aff. जा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the स् of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms मार्का. तुर्का see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरा contains either the gen. aff. झो, or the झ is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अपुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाँहं-झो appears to contain the old gen. *पानह (Ap. अप्पाणहो), contracted to पःन्ह = पँह (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: एता or ऐतना *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in दे (§ 384, as एतौ or एतनौ, etc.), and an obl. form in ए (§ 386, as gen. एते के or एतने के of *so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms एतेक् or एतिक् or एतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or अतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of जेतौ, तेतौ, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms जैठा or जौया *as much*, कौया *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, अत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, अतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etā*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-र्, but एतके-र्. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इत्वौ or इतनौ, उत्वौ or उतनौ, तित्वौ or तितनौ, etc. or (Mw.) इतरो, उतरो, तितरो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, आटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or इतिरो, अतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also किती or कितीक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, जति, कति.

B.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एते, तेतिश्चो, तेतिश्चो, केतिश्चो (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एतित् (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. केतित् (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एति, Ap. एतित्, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एता, एतिइ or एतिअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एतिअर् or एतिअके or एतिअ (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एतिअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc., Mg. एतिअर् to E. H. एता; Mg. एति�अके to E. H. एतेक् or एतिक् or एतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एतिअकार् to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एतिलो (for एतिअलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एतुलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or टू for त् or तू, as in Pr. पट्टा for Skr. पत्नन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. एतना (see §§ 58, 111, 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ल्य may be super-added to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. *एतिअकअलः). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् उतिक्, आतिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एवतिश्च (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एक्षित्रो, तेक्षित्रो, etc. are in Skr. रूपतिकः, तावतिकः, etc. — The, E. H. forms कोया, तौया or तैटा are perhaps derived from केवतिश्च, तेवतिश्च with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवदा, and cerebralisation, as in G. जटलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एक्तुलो, तेक्तुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवतु, तेवतु, तेवतु, केवतु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. तु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, तेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. इवत्, कोवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवठा or (with pleon. ला) एवठाला, तेवठा or तेवठाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एउ or हेउ, ओउ or होउ, तेउ, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. उ to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, ते, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एइ or ऐइ, तेइ or तैइ, etc., and st. f. एआ, तेआ, etc.; also O. एउ, तेउ, तेइ, केउ (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large, etc.* In S. the diminutive suff. ऊ may be added, as एउिंगो or हेउिंगो, ओउिंगो or होउिंगो, तेउिंगो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small, etc.* — The W. H. has also तै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. ततिः, तिः, कतिः; Pr. तई, तई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, तइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, नइसन् or नैसन् *of which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनह् (or ऐसनेह्), f. ऐसनिन्ह्, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or य and 4) ज or र or ल. To the first or स-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसौ, वैसौ, तैसौ (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. यसो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अजिहा or अनेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहँजो or हिचडो, तिहंजो, etc. Of the third or व-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तेवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन्, etc., O. एमन्त्, तेमन्त्, etc. Of the fourth or ज-type are: Mw. ऐजो or ऐरो, वैजो or वैरो, तैजो or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐनू or अनू, बनो or बनू, तनो or तनू, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अरसो, तरसो, नारसो, करसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहँजो, etc. add the pleon. suff. ऊ. The P. अजिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहओ = Skr. इदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are इदृशः, तादृशः, यादृशः, कीदृशः, which become in Pr. अरिसो, तारिसो, नारिसो, करिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एदिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र् (or द्) is elid. R. (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अरसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स् (or ण्) is changed to ह्, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for *अहो, *तहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह्-type, similarly change the स् (or ण्) of Pr. बीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विश्राति, त्रिंशत्) into ह्, P. वीह्, तीह्, S. बीह्, द्रीह्. — The forms of the व- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. इवत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन्, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त्, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. *एवन्तश्चो, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. वन्, मन् (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐजो or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एजो, P. एजा, etc.; and so also the Gw. ऐनो, where ऊ has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. अरसो and Gw. बनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms *एवह्सो (= Skr. *एवादृष्टः) and एवत्तो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all*, *every one* is सब् or सम् or emph. सब्रै or समै. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सबहन्; thus gen. सन् or समकै of *all* taken as *a whole*, but सभन् or सबहन् कै of *all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. संब् or सबर्, P. सम्, G. सम् or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. समु m., सम f., or समुको m., °की f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms समोई and मिड्योई or मिडोई. — E. H. also uses सकर् or सगर् and सारा *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सब्बो, in the Ap. Pr. सब्बु (H. C. 4, 366) or *सब्बु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबर् (emph. सब्रै). The form सम has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आफु

if for आपु, आयि before for आगि, etc. — The S. समुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. मिड्योई or मिडोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. समोई or सबोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial इ of the remainder मिडे stands for अ (see § 134); the final इयो or इजो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेयो or पेहेयो first (see §§ 118. 213), योरिजो *very little* (Tr. 79), एउडो so small (§ 455). In S., सु often changes to हु (see Tr. XXX); hence सब् may have become हब् or हम्, next क्षु (by suppressing अ), next म् (cf. Mw. महौरो or माँरो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगर् is the Skr. सकल (see § 102); and सारा is, perhaps, really the past part. of सारब् *to complete*, the causal of the R. सु (= Skr. part. सारितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is जेकेहू which is both masc. and fem.; and जेकिहू *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of जै and केहू or किछु, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. जैकेहू कै of whomsoever.

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. जैको m., जैका f., जैको n. (Tr. 213); B. जैकिछु or जैकोन् n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is केतना or कई which is masc. and fem., and किछु or कुछु or कछु which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. केतने लोगन् कै of some men, कई घोरन् कै of some horses, किछु आत् कै of some thing. When केतना is used independantly, it forms the obl. केतनान्, and to कई the pleon. aff. एक (§ 289) is added; thus gen. केतनन् कै or कईएक कै of some.

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. किछु, O. किकि, Br. कडु, H. H. कुछु, M. काहीँ, Mw. काईँ or कईँ, S. की, P. कुछु. I know no satisfactory derivation for किछु, perhaps it is Pr. *किचित्तिहु = Skr. किचित् बलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. आन् or दूसर् or पराई another, and एक दूसर् one another.

Note: आन् is the Mg. अन्ने (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. अन्यः; — अउर् is the Mg. अवले, Skr. अप्यः; — पराई seems to be connected with the Skr. परक्षयः; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. पराई (H. C. 4, 350) or पराया (H. C. 4, 376). — On दूसर् see § 271.

6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) of place, इहैं or इहाँ or इहवाँ or एने or एठाँ or ऐटेन् or ऐठाईँ here; ताँ or तहैं or तहाँ or तहवाँ or तेठाँ or तेटेन् there; जाँ or तहैं or तहाँ or तहवाँ or जेटेन् where; काँ or कहैं or कहाँ or कहवाँ or केटेन् where? The same in emph. form are: इहवैं or ऐहीने or ऐहीठाँ even here; तहवैं or तेहीठे or तेहीठाँ even there; जहवैं or जेहीठे or जेहीठाँ even where; कहवैं or केहीठे or केहीठाँ even where?

- b) of direction, ऐहर् or ऐहवर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओहवर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेहवर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेहवर् *wither*; केहर् or केहवर् *wither?*
- c) of time, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, जब् *when*, कब् *when?* In emph. form: अबहीं^१ or अबहियैं^२ *even now*; तबहीं^१ or तबहियैं^२ *even then*; तबहीं^१ or तबहियैं^२ *even when*; कबहीं^१ or कबहियैं^२ *even when?*

d) of manner or cause: यूँ or यैँ or एओँ or अइसे or ऐसे *in this manner or for this cause*; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेओँ or तड्से or तैसे *thus or therefore, also then*; ज्यूँ or जेउँ or जेओँ or ज़इसे or जैसे *in which manner or for which cause, also when*; क्यूँ or केउँ or केओँ or कइसे or कैसे *how or why or काहे why, केहू कभान् or काहे बढे what fore, काहे why not?*

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एया or हेया, ओया or होया, तया or सेया, यया (i. e. ज्यया), कोया or (h) ए खाने, ओ लौं, से लौं, ये खौं, कोन्नु खौं, or (d) हेदे *here*, or (y) हेरो *here*. O. (a) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (h) ए-ठा-रे, येडं ठारे, केडँ or कोँठारे, etc. Bs. (a) ऐद्याँ or ऐद्यन्, ओद्याँ or ओद्यन्, तेद्याँ or तेद्यन्, etc., or (b) उहैं or उहाँ or उहवाँ, इहैं, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इतैं or उतैं, तित् or तितैं, जित् or जितैं, कित् or कितैं or कत्, or यहैं or याँ, वहैं or वाँ, तहैं or ताँ, जहैं or जाँ, कहैं or काँ; or (v. (a) अठैं or अठी or ईँठैं, उठैं or उठी or ऊँठैं, जठैं or जठी (or जैँठैं?), ऊँठैं or फठैं or कैँठैं or कोठैं (also अउैं, जउैं, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्ये, त्ये, तित्ये, जित्ये, कित्ये; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्ये, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्ये; तिति or तति or तित्यि or तिते or तित्ये or तते, जिति or जित्यि or जति or जिते or जित्ये or जते (also जाते or जात्ये), किति or कित्यि or कति or किते or कित्ये (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) हियाँ, आहीं^१, त्याँ or तहीं^१ or ताँहाँ, इयाँ or जहीं^१ or जाँहाँ, क्याँ or कहीं^१ or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येथैं, तेथैं, जेथैं or जिथैं, केथैं or (a) कोठे^२ (Man. 100); N. (b) त्याँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, अमने, कमने; O. (y) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐहव-र्, etc.; in some parts also (y) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (y) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधर्, उधर्, तिधर्,

जिधूँ, किधूँ; P. unknown; S. (y) एडे or हेडे or एउहैं or एउहुँ or हेउहुँ, ओडे or होउ or ओउहैं etc., तेडे or तेउहैं or तेउहुँ, जेडे etc., केडे etc.; G. (y) आपौ-गम्, तेपौ-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इक्षे or हिक्षं (Man. 127), तिक्षे, त्रिक्षं, किक्षे; N. (b) घाँहि॑, बाँहि॑, ताँहि॑, ताँहि॒, काँहि॑. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E: H. तहैंके, O. सेठा कु thither, etc.

c) *Adv. of time;* B. (c) एवे, तवे, यवे, कवे (S. Ch. 207) or (h) ए-बन्, त-बन्, य-बन्, क-बन्; O. (c) एजे, तेजे, येजे, केजे; E: H. (c) अब्, तब्, जब्, कब्; W. H. (c) अबै or अबे, तबै or तो. (= तव्), तबै or जौ, कबै, or (d) नद् or नदै or जदा or तद्, तद् or तदै, कद् or कदै or कदा or कट्, or (e) रारै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम्, जाम्; P. (d) नद्, जद्, कद्; S. (c) ताँ, जाँ, or (y) तउही॑, जउही॑, कउही॑; M. (c) एवहैं, तेव or तेवहैं, जँव or जेवहैं, कवहैं (Man. 100. 125), or (a) आताँ then (Man. 100); N. (c) अब्, तव्, जब्, कब्, or (c) अइले or एले, तइले or तैले, जइले or जैले, कइले or कैलह, or (e) तर्, तर्.

d) *Adv. of manner;* B. (y) हेन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, अमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., केमन् or केमत् or किमन् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) न्, सेमन्त; येमन्त?), केमन्त or कियाँ or जाहिँ-फे or काहा-र; O. L. ए॒मि, तेम or तिमि, जेम or जिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एँ, तँ, जँ, कँ; S. (c) ईँअ or हीँअ or इँअ or हिँअ or इँ, ऊअ or हूअ or उँअ रुँअ or उँअ or हुएँ, तोँअ or तिँअ or तिएँ, जोँअ or जिँअ or जिएँ, कीँअ or किँअ or किएँ; G. एम्, आम्, तेम्, जम्, केम्; M. (f) असै॑, तसै॑, जसै॑, कसै॑ (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) गसै॑, तसै॑, जसै॑, कसै॑, or यसै॑, तसै॑, जसै॑, कसै॑, or (h) यसो-गरि॑, तसो-गरि॑, etc., व्यान् why.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-नु॑ whence, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहरु-से whencc, कब्-से since when, कब्-तक् or कहाँ-तक् how long, S. के-सी॑ or का-सी॑ or के-सी-अ or के-तार्द॑ how long (Tr. 394); N. काँहाँ-बाट् or काँहाँ-देखि whence, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्यो॑

